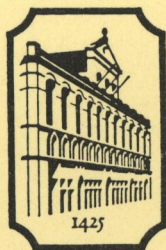


HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. XXXVI-1987



LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA
Journal of Neo-Latin Studies

Editorial Board

Editors:

Prof. Dr. Josef IJsewijn (K.U.Leuven-Belgium); Prof. Dr. Gilbert Tournoy (K.U.Leuven); Prof. Dr. Constant Matheeussen (UFSAL Brussel); Prof. Dr. Dirk Sacré (UFSIA Antwerpen)

Associate Editors:

Prof. em. Dr. Leonard Forster (Cambridge); Prof. Claude-Henri Frèches (Aix-en-Provence); †Prof. Dr. Veljko Gortan (Zagreb); Prof. Dr. M. Miglio (Viterbo); Prof. Dr. Fred Nichols (New York); Prof. Dr. Jan Öberg (Stockholm); Mgr. Dr. José Ruyschaert (Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana); Prof. Dr. Lidia Winniczuk (Warszawa); Prof. Dr. D. Wuttke (Bamberg).

Editorial Assistants:

Drs. Marcus De Schepper; Mrs J. IJsewijn-Jacobs; Dr. Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen.

*

Volume 1 through 16 were edited by the late Mgr. Henry de Vocht from 1928 to 1961 as a series of monographs on the history of humanism at Louvain, especially in the *Collegium Trilingue*. These volumes are obtainable in a reprint edition.

Beginning with volume 17 (1968) HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA appears annually as a *Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*.

Orders for separate volumes and standing orders should be sent to the publisher: *Leuven University Press*, Krakenstraat 3, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium)

Librarians who wish for an exchange with *Humanistica Lovaniensia* should apply to the Librarian of the University Library of Leuven (K.U.L.): Dr. J. Roegiers, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ladeuzeplein 22, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium).

Manuscripts for publication should be submitted (2 ex.) to a member of the editorial board. They should follow the prescriptions of the *MHRA Style Book*, published by W.S. Maney, Hudson Road, Leeds LS9 7DL, England.

Contributors will receive twenty offprints of their articles free of charge.

Address of the Editors: Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Faculteitsgebouw Letteren en Wijsbegeerte, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium).

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

**HUMANISTICA
LOVANIENSIA**

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. XXXVI-1987



LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

*Gepubliceerd met de steun
van de Universitaire Stichting van België
en van het Ministerie van de Vlaamse Gemeenschap*

© 1987 Universitaire Pers Leuven / Leuven University Press / Presses Universitaires de Louvain, Krakenstraat, 3 - B 3000 Leuven/Louvain, Belgium

Niets uit deze uitgave mag worden verveelvoudigd en/of openbaar gemaakt door middel van druk, fotokopie, microfilm of op welke andere wijze ook zonder voorafgaande schriftelijke toestemming van de uitgever.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm or any other means without written permission from the publisher.

ISBN 90 6186 255 8
D/1987/1869/32

CONSPECTUS RERUM

1. Textus et Studia.

Walther LUDWIG, <i>Lovatos Versepistel über die Dichtkunst - Edition und Interpretation</i>	1
Renate HAAS, <i>Chaucer's Monk's Tale: An Ingenious Criticism of Early Humanist Conceptions of Tragedy</i>	44
Iiro KAJANTO and Outi MERISALO, <i>The 1723 Edition of Poggio Bracciolini's De Varietate Fortunae</i>	71
Marc DYCKMANS S.J., <i>La Vita Pomponiana de Virgile</i>	85
Ann MOSS, <i>Latin Liturgical Hymns and Their Early Printing History, 1470-1520</i>	112
Franz RÖMER, <i>Ein "Freundschaftsbrief" des Battista Guarini an Albrecht von Bonstetten</i>	138
David CARLSON, <i>King Arthur and Court Poems for the Birth of Arthur Tudor in 1486</i>	147
Didier MARCOTTE, <i>La bibliothèque de Jean Calphurnius</i>	184
Emily KEARNS, <i>Pagan Wisdom, Christian Revelation: two Latin biblical plays</i>	212
Cheri BROWN, <i>The Susanna of Johannes Placentius: The First Latin Version of the Bible Drama</i>	239
Dirk SACRÉ, <i>De Dominico Ponsevio scriptore Florentino</i>	252

2. Instrumentum criticum:

Dirk SACRÉ, <i>Andrea Navagero, Lusus: Three Textual Notes</i> .	296
Jozef IJSEWIJN, <i>Castigationes Erasimianae VI</i>	299

3. Instrumentum bibliographicum:

Jozef IJsewijn, Gilbert Tournoy, Marcus de Schepper, Dirk Sacré, <i>Instrumentum bibliographicum neolatinum 1986-87</i>	303
---	-----

4. Instrumentum lexicographicum 338

5. Indices

— Index codicum manuseriptorum	340
— Index nominum.	341

Walther LUDWIG

LOVATOS VERSEPISTEL ÜBER DIE DICHTKUNST — EDITION UND INTERPRETATION

Auf die Bedeutung des Paduaners Lovato Lovati (1241-1309) für die Anfänge des Humanismus ist in der Forschung der letzten Jahrzehnte immer stärker hingewiesen worden¹. Seine auf uns gekommenen Gedichte sind dabei teils äußerst schwer zugänglich², teils noch unzurei-

¹ Vgl. R. Weiß, "Lovato Lovati (1241-1309)", *Italian Studies* 6 (1951), 3-28 (frühere Literatur S. 3, Anm. 1.); Giuseppe Billanovich, *I primi umanisti e le tradizioni dei classici latini* (Freiburg/Schweiz 1953); Guido Billanovich, "Veterum Vestigia vatum' nei carmi dei preumanisti padovani", *Italia medioevale e umanistica* I (1958), 155-243; ders., "Il preumanesimo padovano", in: *Storia della cultura Veneta*, Bd. 2 (Vicenza 1976), S. 19-110; Giuseppe Billanovich, *La tradizione del Testo di Livio e le origini dell'umanesimo*, Bd. 1 (Padua 1981). — Nach Abschluß der vorliegenden Arbeit erhielt ich durch die Freundlichkeit von Prof. Georg Luck ein Exemplar der ungedruckten, maschinenschriftlichen Dissertation seines Schülers, W.Ph. Sisler, *An Edition and Translation of Lovato Lovati's Metrical Epistles with Parallel Passages from Ancient Authors*, Diss. Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore 1977), 171 S. (im Mikrofilm beziehbar über University Microfilm International Best. Nr. PSB 77-15084), die in der Forschung bisher nicht rezipiert wurde und ihr leicht entgeht, da sie in der "Bibliographie Internationale de l'Humanisme et de la Renaissance" nicht verzeichnet wird. Dort findet sich auf S. 1-23 auch eine Einführung in Leben und Werk und auf S. 155-171 eine Würdigung des "prehumanist" Lovato. Wegen ihrer relativ schweren Zugänglichkeit habe ich ausführliche Hinweise auf diese Dissertation in die vorliegende Abhandlung eingearbeitet.

² Die erste Edition von Gedichten Lovatos (abgesehen von seinen Epigrammen, die auf seinem Grab und dem angeblichen Grab Antenors in Padua überliefert sind und seit dem 16. Jahrhundert mehrfach ediert wurden) brachte L. P., "Lupati de Lupatis, Bovetini de Bovetinis, Albertini Mussati nec non Jamboni Andreae de Favafuschis carmina quaedam ex codice Veneto nunc primum edita", in: *Nozze (Giusti-Giustiniani)* (Padua 1887), XIV, 84 S. Luigi Padrin veröffentlichte diese mit Anmerkungen versehene Ausgabe aus Anlaß der Heirat des Grafen Giusti Vettore mit Maria, der Tochter des Grafen Girolamo Giustiniani in einer Auflage von, wie R. Ellis, *Catullus in the XIVth Century* (London 1905), S. 9, vermerkt, nur 40 Exemplaren. Der Editor, Privatlehrer der Braut, schreibt im Widmungsbrief, S. VII f., er wolle "alcuni carmi di celebri autori, che iniziarono a Padova il risorgimento delle lettere classiche" vorlegen, die noch unbekannt seien und aus der ruhmvollen Zeit Paduas stammten, aus der auch Tomasino Giustiniani, ein Vorfahr des Brautvaters, noch in guter Erinnerung sei. Der sehr seltene Druck wurde mir freundlicherweise von Dr. Lazzaro Luciano, Padua, in einer Kopie des Exemplars der bischöflichen Bibliothek ebenda, sowie von Prof. Biaggio Conte, Pisa, in einer Kopie des Exemplars der

chend ediert³ und, abgesehen von vereinzelten Erklärungen und Bemerkungen, überhaupt noch nicht zusammenhängend interpretiert worden⁴, obgleich sie Lovatos Rolle in der Entwicklung des Humanismus weiter erhellen können. Besonders wichtig ist in diesem Zusammenhang seine über die Dichtkunst handelnde Versepistel an Bellino Bissolo, der geradezu eine Schlüsselfunktion zukommt und die deshalb im folgenden neu ediert und in ihrer Gesamtheit interpretiert werden soll.

Den ersten Hinweis auf das Gedicht enthielt der Aufsatz von G. Waitz, "Handschriften in Englischen Bibliotheken", *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 4 (Hannover 1879), S. 323-327, 360-363, der nach den in den sechziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts gemachten Aufzeichnungen von G.H. Pertz auf S. 360-362 den Inhalt des "Brit. Mus. Ad. Ms. 19906" beschrieb und darin auch die Anfangszeilen dieses Gedichts zitierte. Ediert wurde es erst 1906 von C. Foligno, "Epistole inedite di Lovato de' Lovati e d'altri a lui", *Studi Medievali* 2 (Torino 1906/07), S. 37-58, zusammen mit anderen Gedichten Lovatos in dieser Handschrift, allerdings, wie man bald erkannte, in mancher Hinsicht ungenau und ohne eine verständnisvolle Interpretation. Es war R. Sabbadini, der in der gleichen Zeitschrift noch im selben Band (S. 255-262, "Postilla alle 'Epistole inedite di Lovato' ")

Universitätsbibliothek Padua zur Verfügung gestellt. Der Druck konnte in keiner öffentlichen deutschen Bibliothek nachgewiesen werden. In den U.S.A. scheinen sich nur zwei Exemplare zu befinden. W.Ph. Sisler (Anm. 1), S. 20, erklärt eine neue Ausgabe mit Übersetzung vorzubereiten.

³ Dies gilt für die vier Gedichte Lovatos, die C. Foligno in den *Studi Medievali* 2 veröffentlichte, s. dazu unten. Die Edition derselben Gedichte durch W.Ph. Sisler, zu der auch G. Luck mehrere Konjekturen beisteuerte, bedeutet Folignos Ausgabe gegenüber an zahlreichen Stellen einen erheblichen Fortschritt, erfüllt jedoch auch noch nicht alle berechtigten Wünsche an eine moderne kritische Edition. Sisler hat einen Mikrofilm der einzigen Handschrift, Brit. Mus. Add. 19906, erst nach Herstellung seiner Edition gelesen und trägt seine Beobachtungen in einer Appendix (S. 119-121) nach, statt sie in seine Ausgabe zu inkorporieren. Seine Ausgabe modernisiert die Orthographie, um den Text den Lesern leichter verständlich zu machen, ein Vorgehen, das mir nur gerechtfertigt schiene, wenn ein anderer, die Orthographie der Handschrift korrekt wiedergebender Druck bereits vorläge und es sich um einen Text handelte, der einen weiteren, mit der mittelalterlich-humanistischen Orthographie unvertrauten Leserkreis finden könnte, und dafür aufbereitet werden müßte, was hier aber nicht der Fall ist. Weitere kritische Einwendungen zu einzelnen Stellen s. unten.

⁴ R. Sabbadini publizierte in *Studi Medievali* 2 (1906/07), S. 255-262, Erklärungen zu den von C. Foligno veröffentlichten Gedichten (s. dazu unten), einzelne Bemerkungen bei Guido Billanovich 1958 und 1976 (wie Anm. 1). W.Ph. Sisler (Anm. 1) vermehrte vor allem die Parallelen aus antiken lateinischen Dichtern und versuchte eine erste Gesamtübersetzung.

einige Textverbesserungen und Erklärungen beisteuerte, die allerdings den sprachlich oft sehr schwierigen Text keineswegs zureichend erschlossen und auch einige neue Irrtümer enthielten.

Für die nächsten Jahrzehnte blieb es bei dieser Verständnisgrundlage. Als R. Weiß 1951 erstmals eine ausführliche zusammenfassende Darstellung von Lovatos Leben und Werk versuchte⁵, stützte er sich hinsichtlich der lateinischen Gedichte Lovatos besonders auf das von Sabbadini Gebotene und verzichtete auf eine selbständige kritische Bearbeitung.

Giuseppe Billanovich erklärte in seiner Abhandlung *I primi umanisti e le tradizioni dei Classici Latini* (Freiburg/Schweiz 1953), daß die Handschrift Brit. Mus. Add. 19906 ein um 1290 entstandenes Autograph Lovatos sei⁶. Paläographisch kann ich dies nicht beurteilen. Die Interpretation der Versepistel an Bellino wird freilich zweifelsfrei ergeben, daß die in dieser Handschrift überlieferten Gedichte nicht fehlerlos niedergeschrieben worden sind. Aber dies schließt nicht aus, daß Lovato ihr Schreiber war. In diesem Fall kopierte er Versepisteln, die teilweise mehrere Jahrzehnte zuvor entstanden waren. Da die erste der Handschrift auf 1288 zu datieren ist⁷ und die beiden letzten der Handschrift von 1268 stammen⁸, während die dazwischen stehende Versepistel an Bellino undatiert ist, wäre es möglich, daß Lovato beim Kopieren chronologisch rückwärts ging⁹. Das Gedicht an Bellino wäre dann zwischen 1268 und 1288 entstanden¹⁰. Bei der Niederschrift des Brit.

⁵ S. R. Weiß (Anm. 1).

⁶ S. S. 17, und entsprechend Guido Billanovich, 1976 (Anm. 1), S. 29; Giuseppe Billanovich, 1981 (Anm. 1), S. 6 f.

⁷ Die Versepistel (bei Foligno Nr. 2, da eine von Hugo Mezzabati an Lovato gerichtete Versepistel, auf die Lovato in Nr. 2 antwortet, als Nr. 1 vorausgeht) ist datiert durch eine Altersangabe: Lovato 2, 24 f. Foligno *Ast ego iam senui, mea iam maturuit etas, Altera iam decimi teritur vindemia lustris*, von Foligno, a.a.O. S. 41, auf ein Alter von 52 Jahren gedeutet (zustimmend R. Sabbadini, S. 261), bezeichnet den zweiten Herbst des zehnten Lustrum, also ein Alter von 47 Jahren, wie G. Billanovich 1976 (Anm. 1), S. 34, richtig erklärte. W.Ph. Sisler, der im übrigen die Versepistel Hugos nicht in seine Ausgabe aufgenommen hat, wodurch seine Gedichtnummern von Foligno abweichen, hat S. 12 Lovatos Alter in Nr. 2 Foligno (= Nr. 1 Sisler) noch mit 52 Jahren angegeben.

⁸ S. dazu Sabbadini (Anm. 4), S. 260 f.

⁹ Dies ist eine Annahme E. Cecchinis (mündlich in Abano Terme, 27. September 1985).

¹⁰ Vermutlich ist das Gedicht eher an das Ende des Zeitraums zu rücken. Dafür spricht (i), daß Lovato in V. 98 seine *obscuritas* als ein *vitium longi morbi* bezeichnet, was auf höheres Alter zu deuten scheint, (ii), daß V. 74 *Si tamen alterutra fuerit sibi parte cadendum* im Wortlaut Lovato 26, 34 Padrin *Si tamen alterutra labi nos parte necesse est* entspricht, einem Gedicht, das, wie Padrin feststellte, zusammen mit Nr. 25 durch zeitpolitische Anspielungen auf 1301/02 zu setzen ist, (iii), daß Entlehnungen aus Grossetestes Über

Mus. Add. 19906 arbeitete der Schreiber auf jeden Fall nach Vorlagen, und Fehler können Lovato auch beim Abschreiben seiner eigenen Gedichte unterlaufen sein.

Einen viel beachteten Beitrag zur Erklärung der Gedichte leistete Guido Billanovich, der in seinem Aufsatz "Veterum vestigia vatum nei carmi dei preumanisti Padovani", *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 1 (1958), S. 155 ff., zahlreiche Stellen auf antike Dichtungen zurückführte. In einigen Fällen ist die Benützung der betreffenden antiken Autoren durch Lovato evident. Da Guido Billanovich jedoch zu wenig darauf achtete, ob die betreffenden Worte und Wortverbindungen bei antiken und nachantiken Autoren nicht öfters vorkommen und ob sie wirklich spezifisch genug sind, um eine Abhängigkeit zu sichern, sind ihm auch eine Reihe irrtümlicher Feststellungen hinsichtlich der Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse unterlaufen. Daß eine Interpretation des jeweiligen Kontexts oft zu anderen Ergebnissen führt, habe ich in einem demnächst an anderer Stelle erscheinenden Aufsatz nachgewiesen¹¹.

Der Umstand, daß die Gedichte Lovatos als Ganzes nicht interpretiert sind, wirkte sich jenseits der Fragen zu seiner Kenntnis antiker Autoren auch darauf aus, daß seine Aussagen, ihre Bedingtheit und ihre Eigenart, nicht ausreichend verstanden wurden und daß damit auch seine Bedeutung für die Anfänge der als Humanismus bezeichneten geistigen Bewegung nicht vollständig wahrgenommen werden konnte. Der sehr gehaltreiche Versuch einer umfassenden Darstellung des Paduaner Frühhumanismus, den Guido Billanovich 1976 in dem Sammelwerk *Storia della cultura Veneta* vorlegte, leistete hierin keine Abhilfe, da dort auf eine durchgehende Interpretation einzelner Gedichte zugunsten einer Zitierung und gegebenenfalls Erklärung einzelner Stellen verzichtet wurde. So hat Guido Billanovich in diesem Beitrag zwei einzelne Textstellen in Lovatos Versepistel an Bellino berichtet, das Gedicht als ganzes jedoch nicht interpretiert, und auch W.Ph. Sisler hat dies 1977 in seiner Dissertation, in der er eine neue Edition und eine erste Übersetzung der Versepisteln vorlegt, nicht unternommen¹². Die im übrigen

setzung der Nikomachischen Ethik bei Lovato sowohl in der Versepistel an Bellino als auch in den an Mussato (geboren 1261) gerichteten Gedichten 14 und 16 Padrin vorkommen, die Mussato durch Nr. 15 Padrin beantwortet (s. dazu Verf., "Kannte Lovato Catull?", *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 129 (1986), 329-357, hier S. 347 ff.). Diese drei Tatbestände geben zwar keine sichere Datierung, schließen aber eine Entstehung der Versepistel an Bellino schon in den siebziger Jahren mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit aus.

¹¹ S. "Kannte Lovato Catull?" (wie Anm. 10).

¹² S. Guido Billanovich 1976 (Anm. 1), S. 34 ff. W.Ph. Sislers Übersetzung (s. Anm. 1 und 4) läßt viele interpretatorische Fragen offen und führt manchmal in die Irre.

ergebnisreiche internationale Tagung 'Primo umanesimo e filosofia a Padova', die 26. - 30. September 1985 in und um Padua stattfand und sich unter anderem auf Lovato konzentrierte, brachte in dieser Hinsicht gleichfalls keinen Fortschritt¹³.

Die hier vorgelegte Textedition der Versepistel an Bellino wurde nötig, weil für eine Interpretation dieser Epistel kein zugänglicher gesicherter Text zur Verfügung stand. Die Handschrift Brit. Mus. Add. 19906 mußte erneut verglichen werden, da Folignos Angaben über ihren Text öfters fragwürdig schienen und sich bei Einsichtnahme in die Handschrift teilweise als falsch erwiesen. Der im folgenden gebotene Text weicht deshalb und ebenso auf Grund der neuen sprachlich-gedanklichen Durcharbeitung häufig von dem Text Folignos ab. Er unterscheidet sich auch an vielen Stellen von dem Text W.Ph. Sislers, besonders durch die Beibehaltung der Orthographie der Handschrift, aber auch in der Interpunktion sowie an einigen Textstellen, wo ich mich aus interpretatorischen Gründen für eine andere Fassung entschieden habe.

Über die Bereitstellung eines verlässlichen Textes hinaus ist das Hauptziel der folgenden Seiten, die Versepistel durch eine durchgehende kommentierende Interpretation unserem Verständnis zu erschließen. Der Text ist schwer verständlich, besonders da Lovato hier oft bewußt dem dunklen Stil des Persius folgt, und von erheblicher Bedeutung, da diese Versepistel als eine erste sozusagen humanistische Positionsbestimmung bezeichnet werden kann.

Er steht im Ms. Brit. Mus. Add. 19906 auf fol. 75 recto, 2. col. – fol. 75 verso, 2. col.¹⁴ Die im allgemeinen gut lesbare Handschrift¹⁵ kennt als Satzzeichen den Punkt und das Fragezeichen. Sie gibt in den Dialogpartien des Textes den Sprecherwechsel nicht an, so daß es die

¹³ Jedoch wurde dort von E. Cecchini mitgeteilt, daß er vor über zehn Jahren eine unveröffentlichte Edition der Gedichte für Unterrichtszwecke hergestellt habe. Er machte diese Mitteilung am Anfang seines Referats 'I carmi dei primi umanisti padovani' (Arquà Petrarca, 28. September 1985), das sich in erster Linie mit der Frage nach dem Verfasser und der Struktur der *Quaestio disputata inter Lovatum et Musatum videlicet utrum optabilius sit habere filios an carere* beschäftigte (vgl. zu ihm die Ausgabe bei E. Bolisani, "Un importante saggio padovano di poesia preumanistica latina", *Atti e Memorie della Accademia Patavina*, 66, 1953/54, III, S. 61-75). Die Referate dieser Tagung behandelten die Versepistel an Bellino nicht.

¹⁴ Ich danke der British Library, London, für die mir zugesandte Photokopie der Handschrift.

¹⁵ Eine Photographie des folgenden fol. 76 recto (enthaltend das anschließende Gedicht Nr. 4 Foligno) gibt Guido Billanovich 1976 (Anm. 1), Tafel Abb. 27.

nicht immer leichte Aufgabe des Interpreten ist, den Sprecherwechsel wahrzunehmen. Foligno hat dies kaum versucht und nur die Worte des Arztes in V. 16 f. in Anführungszeichen gesetzt. Sabbadini ist es nur teilweise gelungen. Sisler schließt sich ihm weitgehend an (wie dieser setzt er außer den Worten des Arztes V. 17 "*Pars ...* – V. 20 in doppelte Anführungszeichen, ohne allerdings die Abweichung von Sabbadini, der diese erst in V. 22 ... *tecum*" beendet, zu erklären). Die im folgenden Text gesetzten Anführungszeichen sind wie die übrige Interpunktion das Ergebnis der neuen Interpretation. Verzichtet wurde darauf, im Apparat die Stellen anzugeben, wo Foligno entweder die Handschrift falsch gelesen oder irreführende Konjekturen in den Text gesetzt hat. Auch abweichende Interpunktion von Foligno oder Sabbadini wurde nicht verzeichnet, aber teilweise in der Interpretation diskutiert, in der auch Hinweise auf und Auseinandersetzungen mit Sislers Textentscheidungen eingearbeitet wurden. Der folgende Text gibt grundsätzlich den Text der Handschrift wieder, sofern er nicht einer im Apparat angegebenen Konjektur folgt. Die Handschrift hat Majuskeln fast nur am Versanfang; im Text wurden auch Eigennamen und Satzanfänge groß geschrieben. Die Differenzierung zwischen u und v wurde eingeführt¹⁶.

¹⁶ V. 1-25 des Textes wurden bereits in meinem Aufsatz 'Kannte Lovato Catull?' (Anm. 10) von mir im allgemeinen übereinstimmend ediert und erklärt. Hinsichtlich der Sprecherzuweisung von V. 12-15a kam ich wegen *numquid* jedoch zu einer anderen Entscheidung.

- Fontibus irriguam spatiabar forte per urbem,
 Que tribus a vicis nomen tenet, ocia passu
 Castigans modico, cum celsa in sede theatri
 Karoleas acies et Gallica gesta boantem
 5 Cantorem aspicio. Pendet plebecula circum
 Auribus arrectis; illam suus allicit Orpheus.
 Ausculto tacitus; Francorum dedita lingue
 Carmina barbarico passim deformat hiatu,
 Tramite nulla suo, nulli innitentia penso
 10 Ad libitum volvens. "Vulgo tamen illa placebant.
 Non Linus hic illum, non hic equaret Apollo."
 Si sic versificer, numquid remearit ab umbris
 Ennius et tociens iterata pingere vita
 Audeat Hannibalem et congressum in prelia parvum
 15 Scipiaden? Rursus preclaros Cherulus actus
 Scribet Alexandri! 'Nigro purgate vapores
 Otius elleboro, medie ne parcite vene!
 Clamabit medicus. "Tu quid? Pars maxima turbe,
 Quod bene, quod pulcre recitet, quod more deserti,
 20 Consonat, et certant edera precingere crines.
 Sentio, quod plures; hominum pars maxima mecum est."
 Pars hominum tecum? Quid homo, prescire labora,
 Mox, quota pars tecum! Quod tu, pannutia certe
 Censet idem Baucis. Seniorum consule rugas!
 25 Vix erit, ut possis non crispum cernere nasum.
 "Sed variamus in hoc." De me michi credere noli!
 Perlege Cecropie retro vigilata lucerne,
 Si quid habent veri Venusini carta magistri,
 Si quid Aristotiles, si quid veneranda vetustas!
 30 Peccat in extremis electio prava, vel infra
 Defectum patitur, vel, dum vult tendere supra,
 Errat in excessu. Locus est utrobique pericli
 Cercior; has geminas odit prudentia sedes.
 Consolidare parum nimio mediumque tenere,
 35 Hoc sapientis opus. Sed nos virtutis in umbra
 Fallimur; obrepat vitium quasi simia vere

11 *Apollo*: *apollo* cod. 16 *Nigro* conieci: *Nigros* cod. 25 *possis* Sabbadini:
possisz (?) cod. 28 *habent* Foligno: *hī* cod., *habet* Sabbadini, Sisler

- Virtutis mentita genas; pellexque sororis
 Turpe ministerium cognato exercet amictu.
 Inflatur gravitas et inanes verberat aures;
 40 Obscurat faciem brevitās; enervat amantem
 Levia debilitas vocum et penuria succi.
 Cur hoc? Nonne vides? Medium perpendere sani
 Est capitis. Late patet omnis semita curvi.
 At si quando levi ferenda est meta sagitta,
 45 Una terenda via est; a qua si deviet arcus,
 Quod fit mille modis, tenus hac protenditur error,
 Quatenus a signo volitans divertit arundo.
 Adde, quod a recti moderamine sepius ardens
 Arbitrium detorquet amor. Nos carmen amamus
 50 Ulterius iusto proprium; nobisque benigni
 Nescimus maculas, vel, si fortasse videmus,
 Donamus veniam, faciles ignoscere culpe.
 Crede michi: se quisque probat, nisi frenet anelos
 Affectus anime rationis firma potestas.
 55 Cernis, ut audacis timidus det nomina forti,
 Audax det timidi. Gazarum prodigus egre
 Damnat avaritiae largum; suspectus avaro
 Largus eget cure. Quidni? Se iudice dexter
 Insipiens. Samie sectantem dextra figure
 60 Horret ut obliquum, declivia leva tenenti
 Applicat, et simili gaudet natura reperto.
 Ergo ubi precipitis decernit opinio vulgi,
 Cantor erit noster medius, sortitus amici
 Iudicis examen. Quid enim censura popelli
 65 Iuris habet, posito docilis discedere puncto?
 Tu memor Ycharie metuis sublimia penne
 Et Phethontee retinens exempla faville
 Astra fugis. Sed non minor inclementia ponto est.
 Effuge sic altum, ne sede locatus in ima
 70 Cetera legitimos credas loca linquere fines!
 Distet ab oppositis spatio laudabilis equo
 Actus, amice, tuus. Vitio ni cedis utrique,
 Nil agis. Excludas duo, ne claudaris in uno.

- Si tamen alterutra fuerit tibi parte cadendum,
 75 Audendum magis est. Pocius me seva trisulci
 Fulminis ira necet Capaneia bella moventem,
 Quam notet exitio turpis fuga; mallet Achilles
 Ictus Amazonia vitam exalasse securi,
 Quam Paridis cecidissee manu. Subeunda malorum
 80 Sunt, que torta minus: timido directior audax;
 Fedius est nobis anime pressura pusille
 Chaunote trans magnam. Semper minus opprimit ultra.
 "At tibi ne lucem concludat lucis ymago,
 Ut medium teneat, quem scribis in astra volentem,
 85 Aut ne sit propior, circumspice, dumque tenebras
 Obicis, obscure concede crepuscula nocti!"
 Quod sectanda putat veterum vestigia vatū,
 Despicis, aut metrica quod cogit lege decentem
 Sermonem servire rei, ne principe verbo
 90 Res mutata cadat, quod textus metra canori
 Ridet, ubi intentum concinna vocabula torquent.
 "Dic age: num quendam, sileat quem penna, secutus
 Oedipodionii perplexo carmine monstri
 Nexuit ambages? Num versibus edidit antri
 95 Abdita Cirrei? Num creditus augur Etruscus
 Est tibi? Num mandat foliis responsa Sibille?"
 Despice! Perpetiar. Sedet hec sententia. Persto
 More meo et longi vitium non corrigo morbi.
 Spero tamen: si, que portat mea littera, fidus,
 100 Qui se Pegasee speculo prenoverit unde,
 Explicet interpres, satis excusabile nostrum
 Forsan crimen erit nec me hoc peccasse pudebit.
 Forsitan et paulum se tollet in aera Perdix,
 Nostraque Nictimene, visus oblita minuti,
 105 Ascribet nocti tenebras et lumina Phebo.

Cartula nostra tibi mittit, Belline, salutes;
 Ut libet, hec etiam clausa vel acta putes.

78 Amazonia Sabbadini: Amazonie cod. 82 Chaunote trans magnam conieci: Quam fore transmagne cod., Quam foret + rans+ magnae Luck, Sisler 84 Ut Sabbadini: Ne cod. 85 ne conieci: te cod.

Post V. 105 spatium vacuum duorum versuum in cod. 107 acta Sabbadini; alta cod.

Lovato beginnt mit einer Erzählung im Stil von Horaz, *Sat.* 1, 9.1 *Ibam forte via sacra ...* Bei der in V. 2 etymologisch bezeichneten Stadt handelt es sich um das Padua nahe gelegene Treviso¹⁷. Der Ausdruck *fontibus irriguam* bezieht sich vielleicht — in einem poetisch freieren Wortgebrauch¹⁸ — auf Trevisos zahlreiche Kanäle; die Wortverbindung stammt letztlich — vielleicht mittelbar — aus Macrobius, *Sat.* 5, 1. 19 *terra ... irrigua fontibus*¹⁹. Lovato hörte einen Bänkelsänger auf dem Markt ein Chanson de geste über Karl den Großen und seine Paladine vortragen²⁰. Der Ausdruck *celsa sede theatri* folgt Persius, *Sat.* 1, 17 *sede leges celsa*²¹; *theatrum* bezeichnet hier antikisierend wohl das erhöhte Podest, auf dem sich der Bänkelsänger befindet. Die Ausgangssituation ist damit ähnlich wie in der ersten Satire des Persius oder der des Juvenal, wo sich jeweils im Anschluß an die anfangs vorgestellte Dichtung bzw. Rezitation anderer eine Reflexion auf die eigene bzw. richtige Dichtungsweise entwickelt. Die Bezüge zu den römischen Satirikern, die der Leser vom ersten Vers an wahrnimmt, ordnen den Text in die Nachfolge dieser Literaturgattung ein.

‘Ringsherum hing das einfache Volk mit gespitzten Ohren; als sein Orpheus lockte er es an.’ (V. 5 f.). Das Wort *plebecula* steht in abschätzigem Sinn nach Hor., *Epist.* 2, 1. 186 und Persius 4, 6; die Distanzierung von der Reaktion des verachteten Volkes drückt auch das Possessivpronomen *suus* aus (zu *Orpheus* am Versende vgl. Verg., *Ecl.* 4, 55, sowie Hor., *A. P.* 392); *auribus arrectis* geht — vielleicht mittelbar — auf Verg., *Aen.* 1, 152 zurück. Die Alliteration und Assonanz in V. 5 f. scheinen beabsichtigt. Dem innehaltenden und das Interesse erhöhenden *ausculto tacitus* (V. 7) folgt die offene Kritik des in französischer Sprache rezitierten Epos, die sich auf einen formalen und einen inhaltlichen Aspekt bezieht.

Formal: *carmina barbarico passim deformat hiatu* (V. 8). Auf die sprachliche Gestaltung können am Versanfang Val. Flacc. 8, 69: *car-*

¹⁷ Die — falsche — Namensdeutung von Treviso aus *tres vici* findet sich in jener Zeit auch sonst, s. R. Weiß, a.a.O. (Anm. 1), S. 16, Anm. 103.

¹⁸ Vgl. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s. v. *fons*, 1e.

¹⁹ Auch W.Ph. Sisler (Anm. 1), S. 44, verweist auf diese Stelle.

²⁰ Vgl. zu diesen Dichtungen z.B. N. Mineo, E. Pasquini, A.E. Quaglio, *Il Duecento, Dalle Origini a Dante*, Bd. 1, 2 (Bari 1979), S. 323 ff., und A. Limentani, “L’Epica in ‘Lengue de France’ ...”, in: *Storia della Cultura Veneta*, Bd. 2, *Il Trecento* (Vicenza 1976), S. 338-368.

²¹ Hinweis darauf auch bei W.Ph. Sisler, S. 44, 145.

*mina barbarico fundens pede*²² (vgl. jedoch auch Ov., *Her.* 12, 70: *aurea barbarica stat dea facta manu*) und am Versende Hor., *A. P.* 138: *quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu*/ bzw. Juv. 6, 636: *grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu*/ gewirkt haben. Sehr wahrscheinlich hatte Claud., *In Eutrop.* 1, 307: ... *claro sese deformat amictu*/ auch Einfluß, da diese Stelle sicher beim *simia*-Bild in V. 38 verwertet ist. Was heißt hier jedoch *barbarico hiatu*? Von den zitierten Horaz- und Juvenalstellen und einer allgemeinen Bedeutung von *hiatus* her könnte man es als ein als barbarisch charakterisiertes großspuriges Lärmen auffassen²³. A.E. Quaglio übersetzte in einem Zitat die Stelle mit "deforma a tratti con pronunzia straniera i versi"²⁴, womit nur die fremdländische Aussprache kritisiert wäre. Man muß jedoch daran denken, daß in der antiken Grammatik und der mittelalterlichen Poetik *hiatus* oft als ein *concursum vocalium* verstanden und insbesondere, wenn er häufig vorkam, als ein *vitium* und ein *barbarismus sermonis* verurteilt wurde, vor dem sich die *eruditi* zu hüten hätten. Vgl. in Donats *Ars Grammatica* das Kapitel "De Barbarismo" (*Grammatici Latini* 4, 392 Keil: ... *fiunt etiam barbarismi per hiatus ... ab eruditis auribus respuuntur ...*) und in Galfridus von Vinsauf, *Poetria Nova* V. 1920 ff.²⁵:

In primis igitur mundes a sordibus ipsum
Carmen et explantas vitium. Quae, qualia, quot sint,
Quae vitient seriem sermonis, collige paucis.
Ecce deae aetherae advenere; perhorret hiatus
Vocis in hac serie. Legem vocalibus istam
Ars dedit, ut non sit creber concursus earum.
Concursum tolerat, crebrum vetat, et, quia creber,
Ille sonus vocum deformat (!) et auget hiatus.

Hier wird der häufige Hiat ausdrücklich als erstes der möglichen *vitia* eines *carmen* genannt. Der häufige Vokalzusammenstoß (*creber concursus*) verunstaltet (*deformat*) das Gedicht. Wenn Lovato feststellt, daß der Sänger die Gedichte in französischer Sprache überall (*passim*) *barbarico hiatu* verunstaltet (*deformat*), so stand er also wohl in dieser gramma-

²² Auf Valerius Flaccus als Quelle Lovatos machte Guido Billanovich 1958 (Anm. 1), S. 178, aufmerksam.

²³ In diesem Sinn verwendet Lovato *hiare* in Nr. 32, 2 Padrin: *Oreque grandiloquo turbine Martis hias*.

²⁴ S. A.E. Quaglio, a.a.O. (Anm. 20), S. 324; ähnlich Guido Billanovich 1976 (Anm. 1), S. 34 "declamava nella barbarie del suo francese". W.Ph. Sisler, S. 50, übersetzt: "gaping in barbarous fashion".

²⁵ Zitiert nach E. Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle* (Paris 1962), S. 256.

tisch-poetologischen Tradition und hat *hiatus* in diesem terminologischen Sinne verstanden. Er wendet dann die ihm aus der lateinischen Grammatik und Verslehre bekannte Forderung, einen häufigen Hiat zu vermeiden, auf die französischen Gedichte an und verurteilte sie dementsprechend als barbarische, die Ansprüche eines Gebildeten nicht erfüllende Produkte. Seine Kritik ist gelehrt und trifft einen für die zeitgenössische Dichtlehre wesentlichen Punkt. Es ist möglich, daß Lovato darüber hinaus die französische Sprache (*Francorum lingua*) allgemein nicht schätzte und für barbarisch hielt. Im Text ist jedoch eine solche allgemeine Verurteilung nicht ausgedrückt. Die Kritik konzentriert sich vielmehr auf einen bestimmten traditionellen Punkt der Poetik und geht nur insoweit über letztere hinaus, als die für die Dichtung in lateinischer Sprache gemeinte Vorschrift unbedenklich auf die volkssprachliche französische Dichtung übertragen und diese den Forderungen jener unterworfen wird.

Inhaltlich: (*sc. carmina*) *tramite nulla suo, nulli innitentia penso ad libitum volvens* (V. 9 f.). Die Konstruktion ist ungrammatisch bzw. unklassisch, aber wohl nicht zu ändern. Statt *carmina non tramite suo, sed ad libitum volvens* scheint um der Verdoppelung einer Form von *nullus* willen *tramite nulla suo* zu stehen. Was bedeutet hier *trames* und *pensum* in bezug auf die französischen Chansons de geste? Der Begriff *trames* ist klassisch in derart übertragener Bedeutung nicht belegt, für *pensum* läßt sich Cic., *de orat.* 3, 119: *nunc ad reliqua progrediar meque ad meum munus pensumque revocabo* nennen. Weiter führen Stellen aus dem Umkreis Lovatos. Ferreto von Vicenza schrieb in seiner bald nach 1330 geschriebenen *Historia rerum in Italia gestarum ab anno 1250 ad annum usque 1318* über die Aufgabe des Historikers: "*extra rei tramites ambulare non decet.*"²⁶ Der Chronist soll von seinem Gegenstand (den thematisch gebotenen Wegen oder den Grenzen des Gegenstandes) nicht abweichen und keine überflüssigen Digressionen einlegen. Vergleichbar sind zwei Verse Ferretos, die im Prooemium zu seinem hexametrischen Epos *De Scaligerorum Origine* stehen²⁷:

Ille canendus adest nobis, operique recepto
Limes erit placidusque labor ...

Die Verwendung von *limes* geht hier zurück auf Stat., *Theb.* 1, 16 f.: *limes mihi carminis esto Oedipodae confusa domus*, wo *limes* wohl

²⁶ S. C. Cipolla, *Le opere di Ferreto di Ferreti Vicentino*, Bd. 1, (Rom 1908), S. 8.

²⁷ S. C. Cipolla, a.a.O. (Anm. 26), Bd. 3 (Rom 1920), *De Scal. Orig.* I, S. 12 f.

metaphorisch die Grenzlinie bezeichnet, die der Gesang nicht überschreiten bzw. innerhalb derer er sich halten soll. Der Begriff *limes* kann hier jedoch auch als "der Weg des Gesanges" verstanden werden. In diesem Sinn stellt noch die Übersetzung von J.H. Mozley "let the troubled house of Oedipus set a limit to my song" und "be the track, the course of my song" zur Wahl²⁸. Bei Ferreto bezeichnet *limes* entsprechend die thematische Grenze oder den vom Thema her gebotenen Weg seines Werkes²⁹. *trames* bei Lovato (und später bei Ferreto) scheint ein Synonym zu dem derart poetologisch metaphorischen Gebrauch von *limes* bei Statius zu sein. Lovato erinnert mit den Begriffen *trames* und *pensum* an die Aufgabe des Dichters, sich an einen bestimmten, im Programm angegebenen bzw. anzugebenden Gegenstand zu halten und ihn sachlich richtig darzustellen. Er wirft dem Rezitator des französischen Epos vor, nach Belieben von seinem Thema und dem durch die Sache geforderten Weg der Darstellung abzuweichen.

An dieser Stelle wird — wie in der antiken Satire — ein Gesprächspartner eingeführt, der für die kritisierte Dichtungsart eintritt und dazu dient, daß der Standpunkt Lovatos in einer Dialogsituation entwickelt werden kann. In Übereinstimmung mit einer bei Horaz, Persius und Juvenal begegnenden Darstellungstechnik bleibt der fiktive Gesprächspartner anonym, und die Anrede *amice* in V. 72 sowie die Argumentationsweise lassen nur erkennen, daß der Leser eine Diskussion innerhalb derselben Bildungsschicht vernimmt. Sabbadini nahm unter Zustimmung von R. Weiß und Guido Billanovich meines Erachtens irrtümlich an, der Gesprächspartner sei identisch mit dem Adressaten des Briefes³⁰. Der Adressat Bellinus wird jedoch erst in dem elegischen Distichon nach Abschluß des hexametrischen *sermo* in V. 106 f. genannt. Diese Schlußverse sind gewissermaßen die Begleitworte, mit denen Lovato seine Komposition an Bellino Bissolo schickt, der als zeitgenössischer *doctor grammaticae* und *magister* aus Mailand bekannt ist und von dem mehrere lateinische Gedichtsammlungen in elegischen Distichen, darunter das zwischen 1260 und 1277 verfaßte *Speculum vitae* überliefert sind³¹. Welchen Standpunkt er in der von Lovato behan-

²⁸ S. J.H. Mozley, *Statius*, Bd. 1, 1928/61 (The Loeb Classical Library), S. 341.

²⁹ Zu dichterischem *labor* vgl. Verg., *Ecl.* 10, 1, Ov., *F.* 1, 723, Luc., *Phars.* 9, 980, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* VII, 2, 2, Sp. 794, 80ff.

³⁰ S. R. Sabbadini, a.a.O. (Anm. 4), S. 258, R. Weiß, a.a.O. (Anm. 1), S. 16, Guido Billanovich 1976 (Anm. 1), S. 34.

³¹ Vgl. R. Weiß, "Bellino Bissolo, Poeta milanese del duecento", *Archivio storico Lombardo* 10 (1945/47), S. 3-47, V. Licitra, "Il 'Liber legum moralium' e il 'De regimine

delten literarkritischen Streitfrage einnahm, wird nicht ausgesprochen. Sicher darf seine Ansicht aber nicht einfach mit der des Gesprächspartners identifiziert werden, der sich für die französischsprachige Epik einsetzt und im weiteren Verlauf des Dialogs als jemand vorgestellt wird, der noch keine lateinische Dichtung in antikem Stil geschrieben hat. Da Bellino selbst lateinische Dichtungen in der quantifizierenden Metrik der Antike schrieb und solche sehr wahrscheinlich bereits vor dieser Versepistel Lovatos verfaßt hatte, ist es wahrscheinlicher, daß er die Auffassung Lovatos, der hier solche Dichtungen propagiert, teilte, und die Darstellung dieses Standpunkts auf dem Hintergrund von und in Auseinandersetzung mit der gegensätzlichen Auffassung begründete.

Lovato verzichtet auf einführende Worte für den Gesprächspartner. Es ist deshalb manchmal nicht leicht, den Sprecherwechsel zu erkennen. V. 10b-11 könnte man in Analogie zu V. 5b-6 als Bericht Lovatos über die der seinen konträre Reaktion des Volkes auffassen. Wegen der folgenden Verse werden sie jedoch wahrscheinlich besser dem Gesprächspartner in den Mund gelegt. Die von Lovato geäußerte gelehrte Kritik an den Chansons de geste läßt unter dieser Voraussetzung dann seinen Gesprächspartner einwerfen, daß des Sängers Vortrag der Menge des Volkes aber gefiel. Weder Linus noch Apollo komme ihm hier gleich. Der Gesprächspartner identifiziert sich mit dieser Auffassung. Die antike Quelle für den Vergleich mit Linus und Apollo ebenso wie für den früheren Vergleich mit Orpheus ist Verg., *Ecl.* 4, 55 ff., wo sich nicht nur diese Namen an den entsprechenden Versstellen, sondern auch der Gedanke an ein Übertreffen jener mythischen Dichter finden:

Non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus
Nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit,
Orphei Calliopeia, Lino formosus Apollo.

Bei der Zweiteilung von V. 11 durch das anaphorische *non* kann Prop. 2, 1, 3 *Non haec Calliope, non haec mihi cantat Apollo* gewirkt haben³².

Wenn ich so dichtete, wirft Lovato ein, dürfte da ein Ennius wiederkehren? Die Fragepartikel *numquid* läßt die Antwort Nein erwarten.

vite e sanitatis' di Bellino Bissolo", *Studi Medievali*, S. III, 6, fasc. 2 (1965), S. 409-454, ders., "Lo 'Speculum vite' di Bellino Bissolo", a.a.O., 8 (1967), S. 1087-1146, F. Munari, "Textkritisches zu mittellateinischen Dichtern", in: *Sprache und Geschichte, Festschrift für Harri Meier* (München 1971), S. 347-354 = F. Munari, *Kleine Schriften, Zu seinem 60. Geburtstag herausgegeben von seinen Schülern* (Berlin 1980), S. 252-259, und Guido Billanovich 1976 (Anm. 1), S. 34.

³² Hierauf wies Guido Billanovich 1958 (Anm. 1), S. 214, hin.

Ennius steht hier als Inbegriff des vortrefflichen epischen Dichters etwa im Sinne der Aussage von Hor., *Epist.* 2, 1. 50 *Ennius et sapiens et fortis et alter Homerus*. Seine wiederholten Leben, auf die V. 13 anspielt, hatte Persius erwähnt (6, 10 f.). Der Gedanke an eine neue Darstellung der Kämpfe eines (neuen) Hannibal und Scipio ist von Claudians Praefatio zu seinem Panegyricus auf Stilichos drittes Konsulat angeregt, in der Claudian daran erinnerte, daß Ennius den Sieg des älteren Scipio über Carthago dargestellt habe (1-20), und daran den Gedanken anschloß, daß es nun sein Auftrag sei, den Sieg eines neuen Scipio, nämlich des Stilicho, über einen neuen Hannibal zu feiern (21-24):

Noster Scipiades Stilicho, quo concidit alter
Hannibal antiquo saevior Hannibale,
Te mihi post quintos annorum Roma recursus
Reddidit et votis iussit adesse suis.

Mit dem Ausdruck *parvum* / *Scipiaden* wollte Lovato offenbar Hor., *Sat.* 2, 1. 16 f. *fortem* / *Scipiadam* variieren³³. Das Attribut ist merkwürdig. Dem Sinne nach scheint es sich auf das jugendliche Alter Scipios beim Eintritt in den Kampf gegen Hannibal zu beziehen. Lovato scheint an Liv. 22, 83 (nach der Schlacht bei Cannae) *omnium consensu ad P. Scipionem admodum adolescentem ... summa imperii delata est* gedacht zu haben (vgl. auch Liv. 25, 2; 26, 18 f.). Das Adjektiv *parvus* erscheint dafür zwar nicht ganz passend, da es im Sinn von 'jung' das Kindesalter zu bezeichnen pflegt, aber die Annahme einer Abweichung vom klassischen Wortgebrauch oder einer Übertreibung von Seiten Lovatos ist einer Textänderung (denkbar wäre *pulcra*/, vgl. Lovato 4, 183 Foligno *Et videant Ligures prelia pulcra ducum*) wohl vorzuziehen.

Rursus preclaros Cherulus actus/ scribet Alexandri (V. 15 f.) stellt die Verhältnisse richtig. Ein Dichten im Stil der französischen Chansons de geste ist für Lovato nicht Sache eines neuen Ennius, sondern eines neuen Choerilus. Verständlich ist dieser Gegensatz nur für den Leser, der Choerilus aus der Sicht der Horaz kennt. Horaz nennt diesen griechischen Epiker zweimal als Prototyp eines schlechten epischen Dichters (*Epist.* 2, 1. 232 und *A. P.* 357,³⁴ dazu ist Porphyrio zu Stelle zu vergleichen: *poeta pessimus fuit Choerilus, qui Alexandrum secutus opera*

³³ *Scipiadam* schrieb Horaz wegen der Elision. Ich bewahre Lovatos *Scipiaden*, da er diese in der lateinischen Dichtung verbreitete Endung bewußt gewählt haben kann; vgl. F. Neue, *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*, Bd. 1, 3. Aufl. (Leipzig 1902), S. 92 f.

³⁴ W.Ph. Sisler, S. 44 f. nennt die Stellen, ohne die nötigen Folgerungen aus ihnen zu ziehen.

eius descripsit). Diese Stellen sind offensichtlich Lovatos Bezugspunkt. *Cherulus* muß hier deshalb in diametralem Gegensatz zu dem positiv bewerteten *Ennius* stehen.

Lovatos Kritik an den Vorstellungen seines Gesprächspartners kommt danach aber noch drastischer zum Ausdruck, wenn er in typisch satirischer Übertreibung die Reaktion eines Arztes auf die Auslassungen seines Gesprächspartners fingiert: 'Mit schwarzem Nieswurz reinigt rasch die Fieberglut, schon nicht die mittlere Ader!'³⁵ wird ein Arzt da rufen (V. 16 f.), d.h. ein Arzt wird jemanden, der so verkehrte Vorstellungen über die Dichtkunst wie Lovatos Gesprächspartner äußert, schlechthin für verrückt halten und fordern, ihn rasch einer entsprechenden Kur zu unterziehen. *vapores* steht hier im Sinne der Wahnsinnsvorstellungen erzeugenden Fieberglut, wohl im Anschluß an Stellen wie Sen., *Phdr.* 640 *pectus insanum vapor amorque torret* und Apul., *Met.* 10, 2 *vaporibus febrium*. Behandlung mit dem Wahnsinn heilenden *elleborus* findet sich als satirisches Motiv bei Horaz (*Sat.* 2, 3. 82; *Epist.* 2, 2. 137) und bei Persius (5, 100). Das überlieferte *nigros* ist in *nigro* zu ändern: nicht die *vapores* sind schwarz (Sabbadini führte der überlieferte Wortlaut zu einer absurden Interpretation: "*Nigros vapores* sembra significare la fuligine infernale, da cui escono Ennio e Cherilo"),³⁶ sondern eine Art des Nieswurz ist als *elleborus niger* bekannt³⁷. Lovato setzte zu *elleboro* wie zu *vene* ein adjektivisches Attribut; sein *medicus* soll die präzise medizinische Fachsprache benützen. Dabei ist zu beachten, daß der Arzt nicht an dem Gespräch zwischen Lovato und seinem Gesprächspartner teilnimmt, sondern daß Lovato innerhalb seiner Antwort erfindet, was ein Arzt seinem Gesprächspartner sagen würde. (Um dies zum Ausdruck zu bringen, sind im Text einfache Anführungszeichen bei den Worten des Arztes gesetzt.)

Das elliptische *Tu quid?* in V. 18 ist vermutlich im Sinne von 'Was willst du denn?' zu der Antwort des Gesprächspartners zu ziehen, der zweifellos anschließend bis V. 21 spricht und seine Position als die der weit überwiegenden Mehrheit verteidigt. Sabbadini, Guido Billanovich und Sisler setzen den Sprecherwechsel erst bei *pars maxima turbe* (V. 18)

³⁵ In V. 17 ist Folignos Konjektur *nec*, die Sisler wieder in den Text aufnimmt, mit Recht von Sabbadini verworfen worden; zu *ne* mit praesentischem Imperativ vgl. *O. L. D.* s. v. *ne*, 1.

³⁶ S. R. Sabbadini, a.a.O. (Anm. 4), S. 257. W. Ph. Sisler, S. 50, übersetzt ohne Erklärung "purge the black vapors with hellebore".

³⁷ Der Schwarze Nieswurz diente stets als Purgativ, s. Paulys *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* Bd. VIII, 1, 1912, Sp. 163 ff., s. v. *Helleboros* (Stadler).

an³⁸. Die Frage *Tu quid?* wäre dann im Munde Lovatos provokativ im Sinne von 'Was sagst du dazu?' zu verstehen. Nach den von Lovato fingierten Worten des Arztes scheint mir ein abwehrendes 'Was willst du denn?' im Munde des Gesprächspartners und als Einleitung zu einer Verteidigung besser³⁹. Seine Ausdrücke *pars maxima turbe* (V. 18) und *hominum pars maxima* (V. 21) variieren den horazischen Ausdruck *maxima pars hominum* (*Sat.* 2, 3. 121), wobei es für das Gewicht der Berufung auf das Urteil der Menge bezeichnend ist, daß Horaz seinen Vers mit *morbo iactatur eodem* fortsetzte (in ähnlichem Sinne Hor., *Sat.* 1, 1. 61: *bona pars hominum decepta cupidine falso*). Das Argument des Gesprächspartners wird dadurch von vornherein ironisch entwertet. Dieser sagt, die Menge stimme darin überein (*consonat*), daß der Sänger gut, schön und nach Art eines Künstlers der Rede vortrage (V. 18-20). Das dreifache Lob stammt zweifellos aus Hor., *A. P.* 428: *clamabit enim 'pulchre, bene, recte'*. Lovatos *clamabit* in V. 18 dürfte danach auch von diesem Vers angeregt sein⁴⁰. Mögliche Formulierungshilfen für V. 19 aus dem gleichen Zusammenhang der horazischen *Ars Poetica* waren *A. P.* 370: *virtute diserti* und *A. P.* 438: *si quid recitares*. Die Menge möchte den Sänger mit dem Siegeszeichen des Dichters, einem Efeukranz, belohnen (Subjekt zu *certant* ist in einer *constructio ad sensum pars maxima turbe*)⁴¹. Vgl. zum Ausdruck Hor., *Epist.* 1, 3. 25: *prima feres hederæ victricis præmia* — dieselbe Epistel wird anschließend in V. 22 verwertet! — und *Carm.* 1, 1. 29.

In V. 22 beweist die Aufnahme von *hominum pars maxima mecum est* durch das fragende *pars hominum tecum?* den Sprecherwechsel. Die Behauptung des Gesprächspartners wird wiederholt und gleichzeitig in Frage gestellt. 'Ein Teil der Menschen ist auf deiner Seite?'⁴² Lovato zerpfückt die Behauptung: 'Bemühe dich vorher, d.h. bevor du so etwas sagst, zu wissen, erstens was der Mensch ist (d.h. wie es um seine Urteilsfähigkeit bestellt ist — darum wird die folgende Diskussion vor allem gehen), zweitens was für ein Teil der Menschen eigentlich auf

³⁸ S. R. Sabbadini, a.a.O. (Anm. 4), S. 257, Guido Billanovich 1976 (Anm. 1), S. 34, W.Ph. Sisler, S. 38.

³⁹ Bei Plautus und Terenz findet sich die elliptische Frage *Quid tu?* in *Aul.* 183, *Capt.* 270, *Heaut.* 595 und *Phorm.* 798 jeweils im Dialog als erwidrende Eröffnungsformel.

⁴⁰ Guido Billanovich 1958 (Anm. 1), S. 191, wollte Lovatos *clamabit* auf Catull 67, 14 *clamant* zurückführen; vgl. dagegen Verf., "Kannte Lovato Catull?" (wie Anm. 10), S. 346.

⁴¹ So bereits die Erklärung R. Sabbadinis, a.a.O. (Anm. 4), S. 257.

⁴² Foligno, Sabbadini und Sisler setzten ein Komma ans Ende von V. 21, Foligno nach *tecum* in V. 22 abermals ein Komma, Sabbadini und Sisler einen Punkt.

deiner Seite ist.' Der Versschluß in V. 22 folgt Hor., *Epist.* 1, 3. 1 f.: *quibus militet oris/ ... scire laboro*/⁴³.

Der logischen Zergliederung folgen zwei Bilder im Stil des Persius, der den Gegensatz zwischen der irrigen Meinung der Menge des Volkes und der richtigen Auffassung der Wenigen mehrfach thematisiert hat, so in der ersten Satire, in der wie hier die beim Volk beliebte Dichtung der Ablehnung verfällt, und auch in der vierten, wo Persius seinem Gesprächspartner vorwirft (19-21):

Expecta, haut aliud respondeat haec anus. i nunc
'Dinomaches ego sum' suffla, 'sum candidus'. esto,
Dum ne deterius sapiat pannucia Baucis.

Auch der Gesprächspartner des Lovato weiß es nicht besser als ein altes Weib, ist derselben Auffassung wie die sozusagen sprichwörtliche in Lumpen gehüllte Baucis, d.h. wie das gemeine, ungebildete Volk. Nicht solche Leute soll er befragen, sondern weise alte Männer. 'Befrage die *rugae seniorum*! Es wird kaum möglich sein, daß du bei ihnen keine spöttisch gerümpften Nasen siehst, d.h. sie werden deine Auffassung nur mit Hohn und Spott bedenken, in ihrer kritischen Ablehnung derselben einig sein.' Die Spott ausdrückende Nase stammt offenkundig aus Persius, *Sat.* 3, 86 f.:

His populus ridet, multumque torosa iuventus
Ingeminat tremulos naso crispante cachinnos.

Die *rugae seniorum* sind nicht die altersbedingten Runzeln, sondern die beim spöttischen Rümpfen der Nase sich einstellenden Falten, entsprechend dem Ausdruck *ira cadat naso rugosaque sanna* bei Persius, *Sat.* 5, 91 (Das Bild des Persius war geläufig, es wurde auch von Galfridus von Vinsauf, *Poetria nova* 453 f., verwendet).

"Aber wir sind in diesem Punkt eben verschiedener Meinung" (V. 26) erwidert der durch Lovato nicht überzeugte Gesprächspartner⁴⁴. Lovato will es jedoch nicht bei einer subjektiven Meinungsverschiedenheit bewenden lassen und antwortet "Glaube mir nicht von mir her." (V. 26), d.h. 'du sollst mir nicht glauben, weil ich es sage und dieser Meinung bin'⁴⁵. Nicht seiner Person, sondern den Autoritäten des Altertums soll

⁴³ Zu Guido Billanovichs Hinweis (s. oben Anm. 40) auf Cat. 67, 17 *scire laborat* vgl. Verf., "Kannte Lovato Catull?" W.Ph. Sisler, S. 45, zitiert zusätzlich Ov., *Met.* 10, 413 *scelus est, quod scire laboras*.

⁴⁴ Guido Billanovich 1958 (Anm. 1), S. 200, verglich mit V. 26 Hor., *Epod.* 16, 25 /*Sed iuremus in haec*. Ein direkter Einfluß ist meines Erachtens nicht notwendig.

⁴⁵ Zu diesem Gebrauch von *de* vgl. O. L. D. s. v. *de*, 7c "indicating personal or other

der Gesprächspartner Glauben schenken. Horaz und Aristoteles werden als solche besonders hervorgehoben, und die folgende V. 30-82 umfassende Darlegung, die den Hauptteil des Textes bildet, stützt sich auch in erster Linie auf Gedanken der horazischen *Ars Poetica* und noch mehr der Nikomachischen Ethik, die Lovato in der um 1246/47 fertiggestellten Übersetzung des Robertus Grosseteste kannte⁴⁶. Die sogenannte *Poetria* des Horaz ist auch eine häufig zitierte Quelle der mittelalterlichen *Artes versificatoriae*,⁴⁷ dagegen scheint Lovato die Nikomachische Ethik hier erstmals für eine poetologische Argumentation verwertet zu haben. Ihre hier nachgewiesene Benützung ist ein interessanter neuer Aspekt der Aristotelesrezeption des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. Die alliterierende Verbindung *veneranda vetustas* steht betont am Ende von V. 29. Der Versschluß folgt wohl Lucan, *Phars.* 9, 987, wo anlässlich von Caesars Besuch des Bodens von Troja die trojanische Vergangenheit mit diesem Ausdruck bezeichnet worden war und wo Lucan unmittelbar vorher einprägsam die Unvergänglichkeit der Dichtung preist⁴⁸. Lovato will

source of information"; Sisler, S. 1, übersetzt sinnwidrig "Do not trust me when I talk about myself".

⁴⁶ Obwohl Lovato Aristoteles ausdrücklich als Quelle nennt, ist seine Rezeption durch Lovato bisher nicht genauer verfolgt worden; insbesondere wurde seine direkte Quelle, die Übersetzung Grossetestes, nicht verglichen. Diese Aristotelesübersetzung wird im folgenden zitiert nach *Aristoteles Latinus* XXVI, 1-3, Fasc. 3, *Ethica Nicomachea, translatio Roberti Grosseteste Lincolnienensis sive 'Liber Ethicorum'*, A. Recensio pura, ed. R.A. Gauthier (Leiden — Brüssel 1972). Vgl. zu der Übersetzung und ihrer Verbreitung D.A. Callus, "Robert Grosseteste as Scholar," in: *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop, Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of his Death*, ed. by D.A. Callus (Oxford 1955, 1969), S. 1 ff., bes. S. 62 ff. Daß Lovato Grossetestes Übersetzung benützte, die er auf unbekanntem Weg erhalten hat, beweisen die im folgenden nachgewiesenen Übereinstimmungen, die sowohl einzelne Begriffe als auch ganze Sätze aus dem Bereich des ersten bis vierten Buches der Nikomachischen Ethik betreffen. Dabei läßt sich teilweise zeigen, daß die ältere lateinische Übersetzung der Nikomachischen Ethik einen anderen von Lovato nicht benutzten Wortlaut hatte. So verwendet Lovato im aristotelischen Zusammenhang die Begriffe *actus*, V. 72, und *electio*, V. 30, ebenso Grosseteste in seiner Übersetzung (vgl. den ersten Satz der NE), wogegen die sogenannte *Ethica Nova* statt dessen von *operacio* und *proheresis* sprach. Darüber hinaus hat Lovato auch Partien aus Grossetestes Übersetzung des achten Buches der Nikomachischen Ethik in seiner Diskussion des Wegens der Freundschaft in den Gedichten Nr. 14 und 16 Padrin benützt, vgl. dazu meine Interpretation in "Kannte Lovato Catull?". Lovato lag also anscheinend die gesamte Übersetzung Grossetestes vor.

⁴⁷ So bei Matthaeus von Vendôme und Galfridus von Vinsauf, vgl. E. Faral, a.a.O. (Anm. 25).

⁴⁸ Der Versschluß *veneranda vetustas* in anderem Sinn auch bei Luc., *Phars.* 10, 323. Er wurde auch in mittellateinischer Dichtung verwendet (Candidus *de Vita Aegili*, in: *M. G. H., Poetae Lat. Aevi Carolini*, tom 2, S. 110, 45 für das verehrungswürdige Alter eines Abtes), aber m.W. nicht in Bezug auf das Altertum. Der Ausdruck ist ein Vorklang

seinen Gesprächspartner damit auf diejenige Autorität verweisen, die der Meinung der Menge vorzuziehen ist. "Lies wieder durch, was bei der attischen Lampe nachts geschrieben wurde, wenn denn die Seiten des Meisters aus Venusia, wenn denn Aristoteles, wenn denn das verehrungswürdige Altertum etwas Wahres enthalten." (V. 27 ff.). Die Bezüge zur antiken Literatur sind in diesen Zeilen besonders dicht. Es liegt nahe, den Ausdruck *Si quid habe(n)t veri* ... im Sinne von 'Sieh nach, ob etwa Horaz, Aristoteles, das Altertum etwas Wahres enthält' aufzufassen. Sisler übersetzt in diesem Sinn. Es dürfte hier aber nicht darum gehen, daß der Gesprächspartner die antiken Schriften prüfen soll, ob sie Wahrheit enthalten. Lovato fordert ihn vielmehr auf, sie zu lesen, wenn sie denn Wahrheit enthalten, mit der stillschweigend gemachten Voraussetzung, daß dies in der Tat der Fall ist. Die Ausdrucksweise ist bestimmt durch die Schlußverse der Metamorphosen, in denen Ovid über seine dichterische Unsterblichkeit spricht (15, 878 f.):

Ore legar populi perque omnia saecula fama,
Si quid habent veri vatum praesagia, vivam.

Für Lovato zumindest war der Ovidische Bedingungssatz keine offene, sondern eine selbstverständlich zutreffende Hypothese. Deshalb übernimmt er seine Form, als er in seinem Gedicht seinen fingierten Gesprächspartner auffordern will, die Alten zu lesen, weil sie die Wahrheit enthalten⁴⁹. Die Ovidstelle spricht in Verbindung mit der Reihe der Subjekte (*carta, Aristotiles, vetustas*) auch dafür, das *hñ* der Handschrift durch das pluralische *habent* aufzulösen. Mit *Venusini carta magistri* umschreibt Lovato juvenalisch den Namen des Horaz (Vgl. — auch zu V. 27 — Juv. 1, 51: *Venusina digna lucerna*); die Umschreibungsart war auch schon vorher im Mittelalter gebräuchlich, vgl. Eberhardus Alem., *Labor*. 623: *Satyrae Venusinae*)⁵⁰ und wählt eine auch durch Horaz vertraute Metapher (vgl. *A. P.*, 310: *rem tibi Socraticae poterunt ostendere chartae*). Der Imperativsatz in V. 27 erinnert etwas an Hor., *A. P.*: 268 *Vos exemplaria Graeca nocturna versate manu*. Lovato hat in dem Vers ein Gedicht des Neoterikers Helvius Cinna verwertet, das er bei Isidor in dessen Kapitel "De libris conficiendis" gelesen hatte (*Orig.* 6, 12. 1): *at vero historiae maiori modulo scribebantur, et non solum in*

der späteren humanistischen Bezeichnungen des Altertums durch *sacra* oder *sancta vetustas*.

⁴⁹ Sisler, S. 46, weist zwar auf die Ovidstellen hin, zieht für die Übersetzung aber nicht die nötigen Folgerungen.

⁵⁰ S. E. Faral, a.a.O. (Anm. 25), S. 359.

carta (!) vel membranis, sed etiam in omentis elephantinis textilibusque malvarum foliis atque palmarum. Cuius generis Cinna sic meminit:

Haec tibi Arateis multum invigilata (!) lucernis (!)
carmina, quis ignis novimus aetherios
levis in aridulo malvae descripta libello
Prusiaca vexi munera navicula.

(Las Lovato hier vielleicht *vigilata*?) Zum anderen wirken die Worte *Cecropiae ... vigilata lucernae* wie eine Synonymenvariation zu *vigiliae noctium Atticarum*, so daß Lovato hier vielleicht auch eine Wendung aus dem ihm sicher bekannten Werk des Gellius vor Augen hatte (vgl. *Noct. Att.*, praef. 10: *hibernarum vigiliarum Atticas noctes*; *Cecropius* für *Atticus* ist zu häufig, als daß eine spezielle Quelle benannt werden könnte). Der Sinn von *Cecropiae ... vigilata lucernae* scheint jedenfalls 'literarische Produkte der Nachtwachen bei der attischen Lampe', d.h. 'die mit griechischer Weisheit gefüllten Bücher' zu sein, wozu Lovato neben Aristoteles auch Horaz nennen konnte, da dieser sich ja selbst auf die *exemplaria Graeca* beruft.

Die anfangs mit Blick auf die römischen Satiriker gegebene Gattungsbestimmung des Textes ist im übrigen in Hinsicht auf die häufige Verwendung von stilistischen und inhaltlichen Elementen der Episteln und der *Ars Poetica* des Horaz etwas zu erweitern. Die Satiren des Persius und des Juvenal und die Sermonen, die Episteln und die *Ars Poetica* des Horaz sah Lovato wohl als ein gemeinsames Gattungsvorbild für seinen hexametrischen Text, der sowohl als ein satirischer *sermo*, als auch wegen der literaturtheoretischen Auseinandersetzungen als eine Art "Poetria" wie auch, da das Ganze dann den Brief an Bellinus darstellt, als eine metrische Epistel aufgefaßt werden kann.

In der mit V. 30 beginnenden auf den antiken Autoritäten fußenden Darlegung greift Lovato zunächst auf Grundsätzliches zurück, um erst in V. 62 ff. zu der Frage nach der richtigen Beurteilung der französischsprachigen Chansons de geste zurückzukommen. V. 30-35: 'Fehler macht die schlechte Wahl in den Extremen. Entweder erleidet sie unten einen Mangel, oder sie irrt, wenn sie nach oben streben will, im Zuviel. Auf beiden Seiten ist der Ort mit Sicherheit voll Gefahr. Diese beiden Sitze haßt die Klugheit. Das Zuwenig mit Hilfe des Zuviel⁵¹ zu kräftigen

⁵¹ Foligno schreibt, anscheinend infolge eines Verlesens der Handschrift, in V. 34 *parum animi*; in der Handschrift ist zweifelsfrei *parum nimio* zu lesen. G. Luck konjezierte *gradumque animi*, was Sisler in den Text setzt, der *parum nimio* mit Kreuzen versieht. Eine Änderung ist m.E. jedoch nicht notwendig. Gemeint ist, daß der Weise einen Ausgleich zwischen dem Zuwenig und dem Zuviel erreicht und so die Mitte gewinnt.

und so die Mitte innezuhalten, das ist das Werk eines Weisen.' Die Erörterung setzt mit Begriffen und Gedanken der Nikomachischen Ethik ein. Die Verse fassen zunächst ihren zentralen Gedanken, die Ethik der Mitte, zusammen. Viele der Begriffe stammen aus Grossetestes Übersetzung: *Peccare* (vgl. bes. 21a8: *prodigus ... in hiis peccat*; am Versanfang aber auch bei Pers. 2, 68: *Peccat et haec ...*), *extrema*, *electio*, *pravus* und *defectus*; *excessus* findet sich dort zwar nicht (das Wort ersetzt die metrisch unbrauchbare *superhabundantia* Grossetestes), aber *excedere*. Lovato betont die Gefährlichkeit des Extreme, von denen sich die *prudencia* fernhält und bekräftigt positiv die Entscheidung des *sapiens* für die Mitte. Auch diese Erwähnung von *prudencia* und *sapiens* dürfte durch Grossetestes Aristoteles angeregt sein (07a1): *Est ergo virtus habitus electivus in medietate existens, que ad nos determinata ratione; et ut utique sapiens (seu prudens) determinabit*. Eine gleichzeitige Erinnerung an die horazische Propagierung der Mitte (vgl. bes. *Carm.* 2, 10. 21 ff.) kann hereinspielen, zumal im folgenden der Gedankengang durch Horaz bestimmt wird.

V. 35-41: 'Aber wir werden durch den Schatten (d.h. den Anschein) von Tugend getäuscht. Das Laster schleicht sich heran wie eine Äffin, die mit ihrem Antlitz die echte Tugend lügenhaft vortäuscht; und als Kebb ihrer Schwester übt sie ihr schändliches Amt in ähnlichem Gewande aus. Aufgeblasen wird die schwere Würde und dröhnt gegen die leeren Ohren; Kürze verdunkelt das Aussehen; den, der das Glatte liebt, entkräftigt die Schwäche der Worte und der Mangel an Saft.' Lovato will in V. 35 den Gedanken grundsätzlich in dem Sinn fortführen, daß es schwierig sei, die richtige Mitte zu erreichen, weil uns die falschen Extreme oft als Mitte erscheinen. Die Grundlinie für die Verse 35 ff. gab Hor., *A. P.* 25-28:

*Decipimur specie recti: brevis esse laboro,
Obscurus fio; sectantem levius nervi
Deficiunt animique; professus grandia turget;
Serpit humi tutus nimium timidusque procellae.*

Den ersten horazischen Satz (*Decipimur specie recti*) hat Lovato durch drei Synonyma variiert, die ihm Juv. 14, 109 (*Fallit enim vitium specie virtutis et umbra*) bot. Zu *decipimur* bildet er aus *fallit* das passivische *fallimur*. Dieser Ersatz könnte auch durch Cat. 22, 18: *nimirum idem omnes fallimur* angeregt worden sein, wenn Lovato zu jener Zeit Catull bereits kannte⁵². Die Kombination der Horaz- und der Juvenalstelle, die

⁵² S. dazu auch unten S. 27.

beide auch im weiteren Kontext benützt worden sind, reicht jedoch zur Erklärung von Lovatos *fallimur* aus. Dazu kommt Ov., *Met.* 9, 460: *mendacique diu pietatis fallitur umbra*, eine Stelle, die Lovato auch die übertragene Bedeutung von *umbra* zeigen konnte⁵³. Die Juvenalstelle kombiniert *species* und *umbra* und macht deutlich, daß man *umbra virtutis* synonym zu der horazischen *species recti* benützen konnte. Da Lovato die beiden Worte in der juvenalischen Versstellung verwenden wollte, wählte er statt des einfachen Ablativs die (unklassische) Konstruktion mit der Präposition: *virtutis in umbra*.

Juv. 14, 109 motivierte ferner eine Ausweitung und Verdeutlichung des horazischen Gedankens, da diese Stelle mit *vitium* das Agens der Täuschung nennt und im folgenden Vers (110: *Cum sit triste habitu vultuque et veste severum*) zu einer expliziten Personifikation von *vitium* gelangt, das nun mit dem Gesicht und Kleid der ernstesten Tugend vorgestellt wird. Lovato griff diese Personifikation auf und verstärkte sie noch durch das Bild der Äffin (*simia*), das ihm als solches aus antiker und mittelalterlicher Literatur geläufig war⁵⁴. Die Äffin war für ihn ein Wesen, das in seiner äußeren Erscheinung den Menschen nachahmte und ihm ähnlich sah, in seiner inneren Substanz aber ein gemeines Tier war und blieb. Er benützte dieses Bild, um der juvenalischen Vorstellung des durch Antlitz und Kleid der Tugend täuschenden Lasters eine noch eindringlichere Anschaulichkeit zu geben, und läßt *virtus* als menschliche Personifikation, *vitium* als ihren äffischen Widerpart erscheinen. Für die Ausgestaltung des Bildes verwertete er drei weitere antike Stellen. Erstens: Die Verbindung *vitium obrepit* stammt aus Seneca, *Epist.* 45, 7, wo der gleiche moralphilosophische Sachverhalt diskutiert wird: *vitia nobis sub virtutum nomine obrepunt*. Zweitens: Bei Claudian, *In Eutr.* 1, 300 ff. wird ein Affe geschildert, der in Antlitz und Gewandung den Menschen auf lächerliche Weise nachahmt; vgl. bes. V. 303 ff.: *Humani qualis simulator simius oris ... Ambulat et claro sese deformat amictu*/. Von hier nahm Lovato die Struktur der zweiten Vershälfte von V. 38 und *amictu* am Versende⁵⁵. Drittens: Zusätzlich bezeichnet Lovato

⁵³ Hinweis von Sisler, S. 46.

⁵⁴ E.R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, 3. Aufl. (Bern 1961), S. 522 ff., hat auf die Häufigkeit des metaphorischen Gebrauchs von *simia* im zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhundert aufmerksam gemacht, dabei aber die Zahl der antiken Belege für diese Vorstellung unterschätzt, vgl. dazu M.W. McDermott, "The Ape in Greek Literature", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 66 (1935), S. 165-176 und ders., "The Ape in Roman Literature", a.a.O., 67 (1936), S. 148-167.

⁵⁵ S. hierzu auch oben S. 11.

unter Aufnahme einer ovidischen Formulierung (*Met.* 6, 537 und 606: *paelex ... sororis*!) das *vitium* als *pellex* ihrer Schwester. Die *virtus* ist jetzt als rechtmäßige Ehefrau des Menschen vorgestellt, *vitium* als deren ähnlich erscheinende Schwester, als Nebenbuhlerin ihrer Schwester und als unser ehebrecherisches Kebsweib. Es stört Lovato offenbar nicht, daß die beiden Vergleichsbilder für das Verhältnis von *virtus* und *vitium* (Mensch-Äffin bzw. zwei Schwestern) einander eigentlich ausschließen. Bildüberkreuzungen dieser Art entsprechen auch dem Stil des Persius⁵⁶.

Nach den Versen 36-38, die insgesamt den Zweck haben, das horazische *decipimur specie recti* eindringlich zu verbildlichen, kehrt Lovato zu dem horazischen Gedankengang zurück, wo anschließend exemplifizierend vor stilistischen Fehlern gewarnt wird, die sich bei der Verfolgung eines an sich berechtigten stilistischen Zieles ergeben können. Dabei ist zu berücksichtigen, daß die mittelalterlichen *Artes versificatoriae* diese Verse bereits in Verbindung mit *Rhet. ad Her.* 4, 15-16 zur Grundlage ihrer Lehre genommen hatten. *Rhet. ad Her.* 4, 15 bespricht die fehlerhafte Abart des hohen Stils unter anderem so: *gravis (!) oratio saepe imperitis videtur ea quae turget et inflata (!) est ... specie (!) gravitatis falluntur (!) nec perspicere possunt orationis tumorem*. Als *turgidum et inflatum* bezeichneten Matthaeus von Vendôme und Galfrius von Vinsauf das dem hohen Stil benachbarte *vitium* und zitierten dafür Horazens *professus grandia turget*. Lovato stellte dasselbe horazische Beispiel an den Anfang und formulierte im Anschluß an die ihm als ciceronisch geltende Rhetorik. Von dort stammt der Ersatz von *grandia* durch die hier synonyme *gravitas*. Der Ersatz von *turget* durch *inflatur* lag nahe, da diese beiden Begriffe häufig nebeneinander erscheinen. Lovatos Methode der Synonymenfindung war hier offenbar die gleiche wie bei Juv. 14, 109, wo er in dem Synonymenpaar *specie ... et umbra* gleichfalls den bei Horaz fehlenden Begriff als Variation des horazischen wählte. Lovato erweiterte den Satz *Inflatur gravitas* sodann durch eine letztlich auf Plaut., *Amph.* 333: *mihi dextra vox aures, ut videtur, verberat* zurückgehende Wendung. Das Attribut *inanes* ist wohl als Ersatz für das bei *aures* gebräuchlichen Adjektiv *vocivae* (Plaut., *Cas.*

⁵⁶ Guido Billanovich 1958 (Anm. 1), S. 202 hat in den Worten *fallimur* und *amictu* eine Abhängigkeit von Tibull 3, 4. 55 f., zu sehen geglaubt, weil in diesem Distichon Tibulls die Worte *amictu* (55) und *fallit* (56) vorkommen. Wie bei der angeblichen Catullreminiszenz in V. 22-25 (s. oben Anm. 40, 43) wird der jeweilige Zusammenhang der beiden Stellen nicht beachtet. Aus einem zufälligen und leicht zustande kommenden Auftreten einzelner auch sonst verbreiteter Worte kann kein Schluß auf eine Abhängigkeit gezogen werden.

29) bzw. *vacuae* (Lucr. 1, 50) aufzufassen; die Bedeutung ist möglicherweise: 'die leeren und leer bleibenden Ohren'.

Das zweite Beispiel Lovatos entspricht dem ersten des Horaz (*A. P.*, 25 f.). Lovato personifiziert wieder die Stiltendenz. *faciem* meint hier den in Erscheinung tretenden Sinn. Vgl. auch Galf. Vins., *Doc. art. vers.* 152 Faral: *Praeter haec (sc. tria) vitia tangit Horatius vitium illud quod dicitur obscura brevis sub hac forma 'Brevis esse laboro; obscurus fio.'* ...

Das dritte Beispiel Lovatos greift das zweite des Horaz auf. Das Verb *enervat* steht für *nervi deficiunt*, ferner *amantem*⁵⁷ *levia* für *sectantem levia*.⁵⁸ Matthaeus und Galfridus sehen hier bei Horaz die fehlerhafte Abart des mittleren Stiles, nämlich das *fluctuans et dissolutum* verurteilt⁵⁹ und Galfridus interpretiert *levia* durch *id est plana, mediocria*. Wenn Lovato jedoch als Subjekt setzt *debilitas vocum et penuria succi*, so benützt er Ausdrücke, die die fehlerhafte Abart des niederen Stils bezeichnen. *Rhet. ad Her.* 4, 16 beschreibt diese so: *Qui non possunt in illa facetissima verborum attenuatione (!) commode versari, veniunt ad aridum et exsanguie genus orationis*. Danach bezeichnen Matthaeus und Galfridus dieses *vitium* als *aridum et exsanguie*. Lovatos *penuria succi* steht im gleichen Sinn. Der stilistische Terminus *succus*, der letztlich aus Cicero stammt, wurde auch von Galfridus als Synonym zu *sanguis* und als Antonym zu *aridum* verwendet (*Poet. nov.* 1876 ff.: *verba ... arida non veniant, sed eis sententia succum/ imprimant, et succo veniant et sanguine plena*). Lovatos *debilitas vocum* dürfte ein Synonym zu *verborum attenuatio* sein. Lovato hat also anscheinend (versehentlich?) mit dem Streben nach dem mittleren das Ausgleiten in die Abart des niederen Stils verbunden.

V. 42-47: 'Warum dies? Siehst du es nicht? Die Mitte abzuwägen ist das Zeichen eines gesunden Kopfes. Weit offen steht jeder Weg zu Krummem. Aber wenn einmal das Ziel mit leichtem Pfeil zu treffen ist, darf man nur einen einzigen Weg einschlagen. Wenn der Bogen von ihm abweicht, was auf tausend Arten geschehen kann, wird die Spanne des Irrtums so weit, wie der fliegende Pfeilschaft sich vom Zeichen des Ziels

⁵⁷ Die Handschrift bietet in V. 40 *amantem*, nicht *Amandon* wie Foligno las.

⁵⁸ Diese Parallele und der Umstand, daß *amantem* ein Akkusativobjekt braucht, sprechen im übrigen gegen die Konjektur G. Lucks in V. 41 (*levis* statt *levia*), die Sisler in den Text aufnimmt (er übersetzt: "the smooth feebleness of the words and lack of vigor weaken the lover.")

⁵⁹ S. E. Faral, a.a.O. (Anm. 25), S. 117, 313.

entfernt'. Lovato benützt umgangssprachliche kurze Frageformeln des Horaz (*Sat.* 2, 2. 7: *cur hoc?*; *Sat.* 1, 2. 111 und 2, 5. 42: *nonne vides?*), um im Sermonenstil zu dem aristotelischen Kerngedanken zurückzulenken und weiter zu erklären, warum das Richtige so häufig verfehlt wird. Die Aussage *medium perpendere sani est capitis* wiederholt im Grunde die von V. 34 f. *mediumque tenere hoc sapientis opus*. Wie *sapiens* dort so ist hier *sanus* ein Begriff aus Grossetestes Übersetzung; vgl. NE 11b26: *sani esse volumus; eligimus autem per que sani erimus*. Auch den Grundgedanken des folgenden lieferte Aristoteles. Vgl. NE 06b27 ff.: *medium autem laudatur et dirigitur. Hec autem ambo virtutis. Medietas quedam ergo est virtus, coniectatrix (!) existens medii. Adhuc peccare quidem multis modis (!) est. malum enim infiniti, ut Pythagorici existimaverunt. Bonum autem finiti. Dirigere autem uno modo. Ideoque hoc quidem facile, hoc autem difficile. Facile quidem non contingere signum (!), difficile autem contingere. Et propter hec igitur malicie quidem superhabundancia et defectus, virtutis autem medietas. Boni quidem enim simpliciter. multiphariae autem mali*. Es gibt danach zahllose Möglichkeiten für eine falsche Entscheidung, nur eine für die richtige, da sie das eine Ziel (*signum*) der Mitte zu treffen hat, das man sehr leicht und auf vielfache Weise (V. 46: *quod fit mille modis*) verfehlen kann. Zur Illustrierung dieses aristotelischen Gedankens benützt Lovato das Bild des Bogenschützen, das Aristoteles selbst zu Beginn seiner Ethik verwendet hatte (NE 94a24: *et quemadmodum sagittatores signum habentes magis utique adipiscemur quod oportet*) und das sich, vermittelt durch den Gedanken an das zu treffende Ziel, leicht einstellte, und verband es mit dem geläufigen Bild der verschiedenen Wege. Die Formulierung von V. 43 gewann Lovato teilweise durch eine Kontrastimitation von Juv. 10, 363 f.: *semita certe/ tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae/*. Nur ein einziger Weg der *virtus* steht offen, weit jedoch alle Wege des *vitium*. Für die Bezeichnung des Schlechten wählte Lovato den ihm aus Horaz (*Epist.* 2, 2. 44 *curvo dignoscere rectum*) und Persius (4, 11 f. *rectum discernis ubi inter curva subit*) bekannten Begriff des *curvum*.⁶⁰ In V. 44-47 sind des weiteren vielleicht folgende Vergil-, Horaz- und Ovidstellen benützt: *Aen.* 5, 68 *levibusque sagittis/*; 4, 73 *haeret lateri letalis arundo/*; *A. P.* 350 (in einem auch für V. 51 bedeutsamen Zusammenhang) *nec semper feriet quodcum-*

⁶⁰ Das von Foligno in V. 43 in den Text gesetzte *curi* ist vielleicht ein Druckfehler; die Handschrift bietet eindeutig *curui*. — Sislers Übersetzung "Every path of the curve lies wide open" trifft den Sinn nicht.

que minabitur arcus/, 412 *qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam/*, Ov., *A. A.* 1, 52 *longa terenda via est/*⁶¹.

V. 48-54: 'Ferner: Brennende Liebe dreht unser Urteil oft von der Lenkung durch das Rechte ab. Wir lieben unser eigenes Gedicht mehr als angemessen ist. Und voll Wohlwollen gegen uns selbst kennen wir nicht seine Fehler; oder wenn wir sie vielleicht auch sehen, verzeihen wir sie doch, da wir rasch dabei sind, unsere Schuld zu entschuldigen. Glaub mir: Jeder findet sich selbst gut, falls nicht die feste Kraft der Vernunft die ungestümen Affekte der Seele zügelt.' Ein zusätzlicher Grund für die Häufigkeit von Fehlurteilen wird wieder mit einer horazischen Gesprächsformel eingeführt (*Sat.* 2, 7. 111 *adde, quod ...*). Unsere Eigenliebe trübt oft unser Urteil, wie sich besonders an unserem Verhalten gegenüber unseren Gedichten zeigen läßt. Die Formulierung von V. 48 f. entspricht Cic., *de off.* 2, 10, 37 *voluptates, blandissimae dominae, maioris partis animos a virtute detorquent* (!) und stammt vielleicht von dort. Eine Spezifizierung von *voluptates* ist jedenfalls *ardens ... amor* und ein Synonym zu *a virtute* stellt *a recti moderamine* dar.⁶² Zum Gedanken von V. 49 f. vgl. Hor., *Epist.* 2, 2. 106 ff. *ridetur mala qui componunt carmina, verum/ gaudent scribes et se venerantur et ultro,/ si taceas, laudant, quidquid scripsere beati*; zu V. 50 *nobisque benigni* vgl. Hor., *Epist.* 1, 17. 11 *paulloque benignius ipsum te tractare voles*; zu V. 51 *maculas*, *A. P.* 351 f. *verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis offendar maculis*; zu V. 52, *A. P.* 263 ff. und Ov., *E. P.* 4, 6. 15 *ignoscere culpa*. Über diese horazischen Gedanken und Wendungen hinaus könnte Catulls Suffenus-Gedicht Lovato angeregt haben, wenn es ihm zur Zeit der Abfassung dieser Versepistel bekannt war. V. 15-21 stehen thematisch nahe, und eine Nachwirkung dieser Verse könnte auch oben in V. 36 und unten in V. 53 vorliegen. Keine der Ähnlichkeiten ist aber so stark und spezifisch, daß eine Verwertung des Catullgedichts durch Lovato unabdingbar ist. Die Beteuerungsformel *crede mihi* in V. 53 (sehr häufig bei Ovid in den *Tristien* und den *Epistulae ex Ponto*) wendet dann die Aufmerksamkeit auf die sentiöse Schlußfolgerung: Ein jeder hält sich selbst für gut, sofern die feste Kraft der Vernunft (vgl. *Lucr.* 2, 53: *rationis potestas/* und *Val. Flacc.* 4, 12: *rerum mihi firma potestas/*)⁶³

⁶¹ Auf die Ovidstelle wies Sisler, S. 46.

⁶² Umgekehrt hatte in V. 35 *virtus* das horazische *rectum* ersetzt. Die so gerechtfertigte Konstruktion von *moderamen* mit einem Genitivus subjectivus macht eine Änderung in *recto* (entsprechend den Verbindungen *iusto, aequo, cauto moderamine*) überflüssig.

⁶³ Hinweise von Guido Billanovich 1958 (Anm. 1), S. 182, 178.

nicht die Affekte bändigt. Unter die *affectus animi* fällt der *ardens amor* von V. 48 f. Das Bild zeigt die *ratio* als Lenkerin des ungestümen Pferdegespanns der Affekte, die, von den Pferden übertragen, *anelos* genannt werden (vgl. Ov., *Met.* 4, 633 f.: *anhelis/ ... equis*) und die die *ratio* zu zügeln hat (vgl. zu *frenare* in Bezug auf Affekte auch Sen., *Ag.* 203, *H. O.* 275 ff., *Med.* 866 f.). Wo Lovatos unmittelbare Quelle für das platonische Bild des Seelengespanns liegt, muß hier offen bleiben.

In V. 55-58 folgen neue Beispiele für die durch Eigenliebe getrübt menschliche Urteilskraft, für die Lovato wieder auf die Nikomachische Ethik zurückgreift. Exemplifiziert wird an den 'Skalen feige — tapfer — tollkühn' und 'geizig — großzügig — verschwenderisch'. Wer sich in einem der Extreme befindet, glaubt, daß der Mittlere auf der entgegengesetzten Extremseite stehe, und hält sich selbst für einen Vertreter des mittleren Verhaltens. Lovato schließt sich eng an den Wortlaut von NE 08b18 ff. an: *fortis enim ad timidum quidem audax videtur, ad audacem autem timidus ... liberalis autem ad illiberalem prodigus, ad prodigum autem illiberalis ... et vocant fortem timidus quidem audacem, audax autem timidum et in aliis proportionaliter*. Synonym zu Grossetestes *vocant* ist bei Lovato *det nomina*. Den metrisch unpassenden Begriff *liberalis* hat er durch *largus* ersetzt (vgl. zum Verhältnis dieser Begriffe Cic., *de off.* 2, 55; *Rhet. ad Her.* 4, 38, 50; Aug., *in Iob.* p. 5542), *illiberalis* ebenso durch *avarus*.⁶⁴ Aus der aristotelischen Darlegung über die subjektiven Verschiebungen der Bewertungsskala gelangt Lovato über die horazische Gesprächsformel *quidni?* (vgl. *A. P.* 382) zu seiner pointierten Schlußfolgerung, daß der Tor, wenn er über sich selbst urteilt, sich selbst immer als richtige Norm betrachtet. Grosseteste gebrauchte in seiner Übersetzung *insipiens* (s. V. 59!) als Gegenbegriff zu *sanus* und *sapiens* (s. NE 11b21, 12a21).

Vielleicht regte der aristotelische Verweis auf die Pythagoreer in dem oben zu V. 42 ff. zitierten Abschnitt der Nikomachischen Ethik Lovato an, die Urteilsweise des *insipiens* an der *Samia figura*, d.h. der *littera Pythagorae*, dem Buchstaben Y zu illustrieren. Ausgehend vom Kommentar des Servius zu *Aen.* 6, 136, dem vermeintlich vergilischen "*Carmen de Y littera*" und dem Scholion zu Persius 3, 56 f. hatte dieses Symbol eine weite Verbreitung gefunden⁶⁵. 'Er (der Nicht-Weise, der

⁶⁴ *egre* in V. 56 ist als Attribut zu *avaricie* zu ziehen.

⁶⁵ S. W. Harms, *Homo Viator in Bivio, Studien zur Bildlichkeit des Weges*. Medium Aevum, philologische Studien 21 (München 1970); dort S. 168 auch ein Verweis auf unsere Stelle, die in Anm. 35 jedoch nicht ganz richtig gedeutet wird.

sich im Recht glaubt) schaudert vor dem, der das Rechte (die richtige Richtung) der pythagoreischen Figur verfolgt, zurück, wie vor einem der seitab (die falsche Richtung) geht, er gesellt sich zu dem, der sich an das abschüssige Linke (die falsche Richtung) hält, und seine Natur freut sich etwas ihr Ähnliches gefunden zu haben.' Die Besonderheit der Verwendung des Y-Symbols durch Lovato besteht darin, daß es sich hier nicht um eine einfache — richtige oder falsche — Wahl des Lebenswegs handelt, sondern daß Lovatos *insipiens* den falschen linken Weg einschlägt in der Annahme, es sei der rechte. Er glaubt, daß der, der den rechten Weg eingeschlagen hat, verkehrt gehe, und schließt sich dem, der den abwärts führenden (d.h. schlechten) linken Weg geht, in der irrigen Überzeugung an, dieser sei der richtige. Lovato hat damit das pythagoreische Symbol des Buchstabens Y mit aristotelischen Vorstellung der subjektiv verschobenen Bewertungsskala verbunden. Er beendet dann das Satzgefüge mit dem bekannten Gedanken 'Gleich zu gleich gesellt sich gern', in der Formulierung hier wohl abhängig von Macr., *Sat.* 7, 7. 12: *similibus enim similia gaudent* und dem bei Lukrez häufigen Verschuß *natura reperta*⁶⁶.

Nach diesen allgemeinen moralphilosophischen Erörterungen kommt Lovato in V. 62 auf die spezielle Streitfrage, von der die Auseinandersetzung ausging, zurück und überträgt das erzielte Ergebnis auf die Beurteilung der Rezitation der französischen Chansons de geste. 'Also: wo die Meinung der vorschnell urteilenden Masse des Volkes entscheidet, da wird sich unser Sänger in der Mitte befinden; er hat ja die Prüfung durch einen befreundeten Richter erlangt. Was für ein Recht kann denn auch die Benotung durch das gemeine Volk beanspruchen, das schnell dazu gebracht werden kann, von dem von ihm gefällten Urteil wieder abzugehen?' (V. 62-65). Lovatos Gesprächspartner hatte sich in V. 21 auf das Urteil des Volkes gestützt. Für das unbedacht urteilende Volk aber ist die Leistung des *cantor* natürlich optimal, sozusagen in der aristotelischen Mitte. Das Volk setzt sein eigenes niederes Niveau als die richtige Norm an. Wenn ein solcher Richter prüft, muß der *cantor* gewinnen. Eine derartige Beurteilung durch das Volk (das Deminutiv *popellus* im abschätzigen Sinn nach Hor., *Epist.* 1, 7. 65, Pers. 4, 15 und 6, 50) ist natürlich kein Maßstab, zumal da dieses seine Meinung auch schnell ändern kann (die Formulierung *discedere puncto* wohl nach Hor., *Epist.* 2, 2. 99: *discedo Alcaeus puncto illius*,

⁶⁶ Guido Billanovich 1958 (Anm. 1), S. 182, wies auf Lukrez hin.

jedoch mit einer anderen Bedeutung von *discedere*, vielleicht infolge eines Mißverständnisses). Bekanntlich sind *populi suffragia* (Hor., *Epist.* 2, 2. 103) wechselhaft (vgl. Hor., *Epist.* 2, 1. 108: *mutavit mentem populus levis*).

Lovato kritisiert weiterhin die Zustimmung des Gesprächspartners zu der Dichtungsart des *Cantor*. Er wählt eine allegorisch verschlüsselte Redeweise. 'Du Erinnerst dich an die Flügel des Ikarus und fürchtest deshalb das Hohe, und da du dir Phaethons Asche als warnendes Beispiel vor Augen hältst, fliehst du die Gestirne — aber das Meer ist nicht weniger grausam. Entkomme dem Hohen so, daß du nicht, am untersten Ort angesiedelt, glaubst, die übrigen Orte ließen das legitime Gebiet hinter sich!' (V. 66-70). Für die Formulierung von V. 66 sind benützt Ov., *Met.* 8, 259 (aus der im Zusammenhang mit der Ikarus-Episode erzählten Geschichte von Perdix): *antiquique memor metuit sublimia casus/* und *Trist.* 1, 1. 90: *dum petit infirmis nimium sublimia pennis/ Icarus*, für V. 67 Stat., *Theb.* 1, 221: *et Phaethontea mundum squalere favilla/* und für V. 68 *Theb.* 5, 173: *medii inclementia ponti/*. Was ist mit dieser Allegorie gemeint? Die Geschichten von Ikarus und Phaethon, die Lovato in der ausführlichen Darstellung von Ovids Metamorphosen kannte, waren mythische *exempla* gescheiterter *audacia*. Daedalus hatte seinen Sohn noch ermahnt (*Met.* 8, 203 ff.):

Instruit et natum: "Medio" que "ut limite curras,
Icare," ait "moneo, ne, si demissior ibis,
Unda gravet pennas, si celsior, ignis adurat.
Inter utrumque vola ..."

Lovato las diese Vorschrift als Ausdruck der aristotelischen Ethik der Mitte. Ikarus verließ aus *audacia* bald die mittlere Bahn (*Met.* 8, 223: *puer audaci coepit gaudere volatu*) und stürzte ab. In gewissem Sinne analog wollte Phaethon es aus *audacia* der Sonne gleichtun und scheiterte: *magnis tamen excidit ausis* (*Met.* 2, 328). Lovato erklärt, sein Gesprächspartner erinnere sich an das Scheitern der *audacia* des Ikarus und des Phaethon und wage deshalb keinen Flug in die Höhe zu den Sternen, sondern bleibe aus feiger Furcht ganz unten, ohne zu bedenken, daß auch hier Gefahren lauern. Unten bleibt demnach, wer nach Art der französischen Volksepik dichten will. Die Sterne müssen dann als die lateinischen Dichter der *veneranda vetustas* aufgefaßt werden. *Audacia* ist es freilich, es ihnen gleichtun zu wollen. Aber die Einsicht in die minderen Kräfte darf nicht zur Folge haben, aus *timiditas* den Flug in die Höhe der lateinischen Dichtung überhaupt nicht zu versuchen und

sich nur ganz unten aufzuhalten (vgl. zum Ausdruck in V. 69 Pers. 3, 72: *humana qua parte locatus es in re*) und zu glauben, alles andere sei ein verbotenes Gebiet. Vielmehr soll man den Flug unternehmen und unter Anstrengung aller Fähigkeiten im Blick auf die Sterne der Alten lateinisch dichten. Auf diese Weise ist man ebenso sehr entfernt von der zum Scheitern verurteilten *audacia*, die sich anmaßt, so gut wie die alten Autoren dichten zu können, wie von der zum Untergang bestimmten *timiditas*, die auf die lateinische Dichtung zugunsten der volkssprachlich französischen ganz verzichtet.

Lovato überläßt die Explikation seiner mythischen Allegorie dem interpretierenden Leser, deutet diese in V. 71-73 aber noch einmal grundsätzlich in aristotelischem Sinne: 'Dein lobenswertes Handeln, Freund, soll von den einander entgegengesetzten Extremen durch den gleichen Zwischenraum entfernt sein. Wenn du nicht die Fehler beider Extreme meidest, erreichst du nichts. Beide sollst du ausschließen, damit du nicht in einem eingeschlossen wirst.' Zu den hier gebrauchten Worten und Begriffen sind besonders Stellen zu vergleichen wie NE 94a1: *actus* (!) *et electio bonum quoddam appetere videtur*, 06a30: *dico utique rei medium, quod equaliter* (!) *distat* (!) *ab utroque extremorum*, 06b27: *medium autem laudatur* (!), 08b11: *tribus autem dispositionibus existentibus ... omnes omnibus opponuntur* (!) (zu *nil agis* s. Hor., *Sat.* 1, 9. 15, Ov., *Met.* 8, 140)⁶⁷.

Lovato ist sich bewußt, daß die von ihm propagierte mittlere dichterische Bahn ein schwieriges Unterfangen ist. Er bespricht deshalb im folgenden sozusagen das Zweitbeste: 'Wenn du jedoch auf einer der beiden Seiten zu Fall kommen muß, ist es besser, allzu kühn zu sein. Eher soll mich der wilde Zorn des dreistrahliges Blitzes töten, wenn ich wie Kapaneus kämpfe, als daß mich schändliche Flucht zum Untergang verdammt. Achilles würde lieber getroffen von der Streitaxt Penthesileas sein Leben ausgehaucht haben, als durch des Paris Hand gefallen sein. Man muß die Übel auf sich nehmen, die weniger krumm sind. Tollkühn ist gerader als feige. Schlimmer ist für uns der Druck der Kleinherzigkeit als ein allzu hoher Sinn. Das Zuviel ist immer eine geringere Last.' (V. 74-82). Hier taucht der aristotelische Gedanke auf, daß die Extreme nicht immer gleich weit von der Mitte entfernt sind. Wenn es nicht möglich sein sollte, die Mitte innezuhalten und die Extreme zu meiden,

⁶⁷ Guido Billanovich 1958 (Anm. 1), S. 214, wies für die Herkunft von *nil agis* auf Prop. 2, 32. 19 hin — nicht zwingend, da die von ihm nicht beachteten Horaz- und Ovidstellen näher liegen.

dann ist es besser, das der Mitte nähere anspruchsvollere Extrem zu wählen als das ihr fernere anspruchslosere. So sollte man im Fall, daß die mittlere Bahn der *fortitudo* nicht eingehalten werden kann, lieber die Seite der *audacia* als die der *timiditas* wählen⁶⁸. Dieser Gedanke ist begründet in NE 08b30: *Adhuc ad medium quidem quibusdam extremis similitudo quedam videtur ut audacis ad fortitudinem ...*, 09a9: *Putat, quia similis esse videtur fortitudini audacia et proximius, dissimilior autem timiditas, hanc magis opponimus ...*, 09a30: *extremorum enim, hoc quidem est peccatum magis, hoc autem minus. Quia igitur medium attingere summe difficile, secundum aiunt navigationem minima sumendum malorum ...*

Lovato illustriert seine Behauptung in V. 75-79 durch zwei mythische Beispiele. Das erste ist der *Thebais* des Statius entnommen. Er erklärt, er halte es für besser, wie Kapaneus tollkühn kämpfend zu sterben, als feige auf der Flucht schimpflich zugrunde zu gehen. Die hier vorausgesetzte relativ positive Bewertung des Kapaneus fand Lovato in Stat., *Theb.* 11, 1 ff.:

Postquam magnanimus furias virtutis iniquae
Consumpsit Capaneus exspiravitque receptum
fulmen, ...

.....

- Ille iacet lacerae complexus fragmina turris
10 Torvus adhuc visu memorandaque facta relinquens
Gentibus atque ipsi non inlaudata Tonanti.

Zur Formulierung seines Beispiels verwendet Lovato noch andere Stellen desselben Epos, so *Theb.* 3, 538 f.: *saeva repente/ victores agit atque leto Iovis ira*, 10, 832: *Capaneaeque signa secutae*, 12, 545: *Capaneia coniunx*, sowie vermutlich Sen., *Phdr.* 189: *trifulci fulminis*.

Das zweite Beispiel greift wieder einen Gedanken aus Ovids *Metamorphosen* auf (12, 608 ff.):

... Ille igitur tantorum victor, Achille,
Victus es a timido Graiae raptore maritae;
At si femineo fuerat tibi Marte cadendum,
Thermodontiaci malles cecidisse bipenni.

Danach wäre Achill lieber im Kampf mit Penthesilea als durch den Pfeil des Paris gefallen. Lovato, der zusammen mit diesem Gedanken die

⁶⁸ Vgl. zu V. 74 Lovato Nr. 26, 34 Padrin *Si tamen alterutra labi nos parte necesse est*. Die Interpunktion ist an dieser Stelle bei Padrin zu verbessern. Der *Si tamen*-Satz schließt sich nicht als Nebensatz dem vorhergehenden Satz an, vielmehr ist nach V. 33 ein Punkt zu setzen. Da V. 34 bei Padrin der letzte des Gedichts ist, muß danach eine Lücke angenommen werden. Zumindest der durch *Si tamen* konditionierte Hauptsatz ist verloren.

Worte *Achille(s)* am Versende, *malles(-t)* und *cecidisse* übernahm, variierte *Thermodontiaca ... bipenni/* durch einen synonymen Ausdruck, den ihm Ov., *Ep. ex P.* 3, 1. 95 lieferte: *Non tibi Amazonia est pro me sumenda securis/* (dies nach Hor., *Carm.* 4, 4. 20: *Amazonia securi*). Freilich paßt dieses Beispiel dem Sinne nach nicht so gut wie das erste. Achill war nicht *timidus*, als er Paris' Pfeil erlag, und er wäre auch nicht eigentlich als *audax* zu bezeichnen, wenn er im Kampf gegen Penthesilea gefallen wäre. Was Lovato wohl vor Augen hat, ist, daß es besser sei, bei einer heroischen Anstrengung und einem überkühnen Unterfangen zu scheitern als unrühmlich zugrunde zu gehen. Der Begriff *audacia* bedeutet hier für ihn, eine lateinische Dichtung zu verfassen, mit der er den alten lateinischen Dichtern gleichkommen will, ohne daß seine Fähigkeiten dazu ausreichen. Es zu versuchen, auch wenn das Vorhaben scheitert, hält er für besser, als jeder derartigen Bemühung aus Furcht vor einem Scheitern aus dem Wege zu gehen.

Den beiden mythischen, wieder allegorisch zu interpretierenden Beispielen folgt eine sententiöse Zusammenfassung des Gedankens. Sabbadini hat sie nicht verstanden, da er den Anschluß an den lateinischen Aristoteles nicht sah. Er änderte das überlieferte *torta* in *trita*, das er "nel significato di usitata" erklärte⁶⁹. Die richtige Erklärung für die Stelle gibt jedoch NE 09b6: *Multum enim abducentes a peccando in medium veniemus; quod tortuosa lignorum dirigentes faciunt*. Lovatos Synonym zu *tortuosa* ist *torta*, von *dirigentes* ist das Wort *directior* abgeleitet. Zugleich ist *torta* ein Synonym zu dem in V. 43 nach Horaz und Persius gebrauchten Begriff des *curvum*. Das moralisch Schlechte wird im Bild des Krummen, das Rechte im Bild des Geraden gesehen. Bei Aristoteles sind die, die das Krumme der Hölzer gerade machen, ein Bild für die, die zur Mitte gelangen. Danach formuliert Lovato, daß man dasjenige Übel auf sich nehmen muß (im Ausdruck wirkt hier der zu V. 74 zitierte aristotelische Ausdruck *minima sumendum malorum* nach), das weniger 'krumm' ist. Die Mitte ist durch ein gerades Holz verbildlicht, das eine Extrem durch ein stärker gekrümmtes Holz, das andere durch ein (nach der anderen Seite) weniger stark gekrümmtes Holz. In diesem Sinn kann er sagen, daß das Übel der *audacia* weniger krumm, d.h. 'gerader' ist, als das der *timiditas*. Der seltsame Komparativ *directior* hat also nur eine relative Bedeutung. Wirklich 'gerade' ist nur die Tapferkeit.

⁶⁹ S. R. Sabbadini, a.a.O. (Anm. 4), S. 258. Sisler nimmt Sabbadinis Konjektur *trita* in den Text auf und übersetzt "which are less common".

Eine analoge Behauptung über die der Tugend der *magnanimitas* zugeordneten Extreme folgt in V. 81 f. als zusätzlicher Beleg. Lovato stützt sich auf NE 07b22 *Circa honorem et inhonoracionem medietas quidem magnanimitas; superhabundancia autem chaunotes quaedam dicta, defeccio autem pusillanimitas* und 25a32 *Opponuntur autem magnanimitati pusillanimitas magis quam chaunotis. Et fit magis, et deterius est*. Von der *magnanimitas* in Richtung auf die *pusillanimitas* abzuweichen ist schlimmer, als über sie hinauszugehen.

Problematisch ist der Wortlaut von V. 82, obgleich sein allgemeiner Sinn deutlich ist. Der überlieferte Satz *Fedius est nobis anime pressura pusille| quam fore transmagne* könnte allenfalls nur so verstanden werden: "Häßlicher ist für uns der Druck der kleinen Seele als zu sein von einer übergroßen." Dabei würde *fore* im Sinn von *esse* und *transmagne* als Genetivus qualitatis (sc. *anime*) genommen. Anstoß erregen dabei der Konstruktionswechsel zum Infinitiv, das unklassische Adjektiv *transmagnus*, das nur schwer als eine — sonst wohl nicht belegte — Neubildung für das, was über das Große hinausgeht und jenseits desselben liegt, möglich erscheint, sowie der in dem Genetiv nur halbwegs zum Ausdruck kommende erforderliche Sinn. Zu erwarten ist, daß in diesem Satz gesagt wird, daß das jenseits der *magnanimitas* liegende Extrem näher bei der *magnanimitas* liegt und deshalb immer noch besser ist als die diesseits der *magnanimitas* befindliche *pusillanimitas* (ebenso wie soeben gezeigt wurde, daß die *audacia* sich näher bei der mittleren Tugend der *fortitudo* befindet als die *timiditas*). Diese Anstöße werden nur in einem Punkt vermindert, wenn das seltsame Adjektiv *transmagne* zu *trans magnam* aufgelöst und verändert wird ("als zu sein jenseits der großen Seele").

Foligno, der *transmagne* akzeptierte, änderte *fore* zu *foret* und verstand den Satzteil demnach so: "als sein würde (der Druck) einer übergroßen (Seele)". Foligno beachtete dabei nicht oder nahm in Kauf, daß *foret* gegen die Hexametermetrik verstößt. Ein solcher Verstoß ist meines Erachtens für den darin sonst immer sorgfältigen Lovato undenkbar. Luck versuchte eine Lösung in den Bahnen von Foligno, aber unter Vermeidung des metrischen Fehlers. Er hielt *foret* syntaktisch für notwendig und die folgende Silbe dann für korrupt, womit er offenbar auch an *transmagne* Anstoß nahm. Entsprechend setzte sein Schüler Sisler *Quam foret + rans + magnae* in den Text. Es müßte dann aber ein einsilbiges, vokalisch anlautendes Wort im Sinn von 'allzu' gefunden werden. Ein solches Wort existiert nicht.

Aus der Sackgasse heraus führt meines Erachtens der Gedanke, daß der zu erwartende Sinn nicht nur durch einen *quam*-Satz, sondern auch durch einen Ablativus comparationis ausgedrückt werden kann, die Korruptel also nicht erst bei *+rans+* vorzuliegen braucht. Im Ablativ müßte der Begriff stehen, der das der *pusillanimitas* entgegengesetzte Extrem bezeichnet. Grosseteste hatte dafür keinen lateinischen gefunden, sondern den aristotelischen Begriff als Fremdwort übernommen: *chaunotes* bzw. *chaunotis* (07b22, 25a32; der Begriff hat auch späteren Übersetzern Schwierigkeiten bereitet: Dionysius Lambinus paraphrasierte ihn mit *elatio animi aut superbia in animis extollendis*). Lovato konnte zu dem in Grossetestes Übersetzung gelesenen griechischen Fremdwort die lateinische Ablativform *chaunote* bilden und sinngemäß an den Anfang von V. 82 setzen. Das ungewöhnliche Wort wurde, so vermute ich, bei der Kopie des Textes wegen seiner Seltenheit und im Gedanken an das nach dem Komparativ an sich mögliche *quam* in die paläographisch relativ ähnlichen Worte *Quam fore* verschrieben (vgl. auch die Zahl der Hasten). Das folgende *transmagne* enthielt dann ursprünglich eine explikative Bestimmung zu dem aus Aristoteles übernommenen Begriff. Da die *chaunotes trans magnanimitatem* liegt, schlage ich vor, *trans magnam* (sc. *animam*) zu schreiben. Auf ein stützendes Partizip wie *posita* konnte Lovato verzichten. Der Sinn des Satzes ist dann: "Schlimmer ist für uns der Druck der kleinen Seele als die *Chaunotes* jenseits der großen." Sinnvoll schließt sich daran an "Immer drückt weniger das Jenseitige", d. h. das Verhalten, das über das richtige hinausgeht, ist immer besser, als das, das hinter ihm zurückbleibt. *ultra* nimmt die in *trans* liegende Vorstellung auf. Sein substantivierter Gebrauch entspricht dem analogen Gebrauch von *parum* in V. 34⁷⁰.

Die abschließende Verallgemeinerung in V. 82 kann freilich eigentlich nur auf Fälle wie die der *fortitudo* und der *magnanimitas* bezogen, nicht aber generell verstanden werden, wenn man nicht annehmen will, daß Lovato sich über NE 09a1 *Ad medium autem opponitur in hiis quidem magis defeccio, in hiis autem superhabundancia* hinweggesetzt hat, was allerdings auch nicht völlig auszuschließen ist. Lovato lag hier jedenfalls nur daran, sich gegen das, was er als Furcht und Kleinherzigkeit auf literarischem Feld verstand, zu wenden. Er hatte deshalb keinen Anlaß, an dieser Stelle mit Aristoteles auch zu betonen, daß in anderen Fällen

⁷⁰ Lucks Konjektur *illa* (für *ultra*), die Sisler in den Text aufnahm, ist deshalb abzulehnen. Sislers Übersetzung von V. 79 *Subeunda* ... — 82 verfehlt den Sinn.

das Zuviel in einem schärferen Gegensatz zur Mitte steht als das Zuwenig.

Wenn die Konjektur *Chaunote trans magnam* den ursprünglichen Wortlaut trifft, stellt sich aber nun die Frage, ob das Ms. Brit. Mus. Add. 19906 wirklich ein Autograph Lovatos ist. Man wird bei einem Abschreiber eigener Gedichte manche, aber nicht alle Fehler für möglich halten. Ein Fehler wie dieser geht meines Erachtens über die Grenze des Zumutbaren hinaus. Aber ist die Handschrift nicht nach Aussage der Brüder Giuseppe und Guido Billanovich mit Sicherheit ein Autograph? Es darf hier daran erinnert werden, daß die Handschrift an keiner Stelle einen Eintrag hat, durch den sich Lovato explizit als ihr Schreiber bezeichnet. Die beiden Gelehrten gelangten vielmehr auf dem Wege eines recht komplizierten Schriftvergleichs zu ihrer Annahme. Die Handschrift enthält mehrere Teile verschiedenen Inhalts, die in verschiedenen Schriften geschrieben sind: f. 1-60 Justinus, Epitome des Pompeius Trogus, f. 60-74 Beda, *De temporibus liber*, f. 75-77 die Versepisteln von und an Lovato (in einer Buchschrift, die sich von der für Justinus benützten etwas unterscheidet), f. 78-81 Prosabriefe (*formulae epistolandi*), f. 82 Entwurf einer notariellen Verkaufsurkunde, unsigniert und datiert Treviso, den 8. April 1290 (in einer Kanzleischrift). Die Schrift des letztgenannten Textes wurde mit zwei signierten notariellen Niederschriften Lovatos aus den Jahren 1257 und 1261 und einer nicht-signierten Lovato zugeschriebenen Niederschrift aus dem Jahr 1273 verglichen. Die durch mehrere Jahrzehnte getrennten Kanzleischriften sind natürlich nicht identisch, aber sie lassen nach Auffassung Guido Billanovichs klar erkennen, daß sie verschiedene Entwicklungsstufen der Schrift eines Mannes, eben Lovatos darstellen, dem daraufhin dann auch die in der Handschrift vorausgehenden Buchschriften zugeschrieben werden: "Sulla scorta dei due rogiti giovanili del figlio di Rolando possiamo affermare con tranquillità assoluta che abbiamo qui (d. h. in dem Urkundenentwurf von 1290) il suggello dell'autografia lovatiana dell'intero codice (le sue maiuscole bellissime!) e un punto di arrivo nell'evolversi della corsiva notarile di Lovato."⁷¹ In welchem Maße diese paläographischen Deduktionen zwingend sind, wage ich nicht zu beurteilen. Da die Versepisteln Lovatos jedoch jedenfalls nicht direkt als Niederschrift Lovatos bezeugt sind, sondern auf ein Autograph auf

⁷¹ Zitiert aus Guido Billanovich, 1976 (Anm. 1), S. 30, der auf Tafel 14-16, 20-23 und 27 auch Photographien der verschiedenen Schriftstücke bringt.

Grund gewisser Indizien nur geschlossen wird, ist zumindest auch die Möglichkeit gegeben, daß sie nicht von Lovato selbst niedergeschrieben worden sind. Diese Möglichkeit gewinnt an Wahrscheinlichkeit, wenn V. 82 in der hier angenommenen Weise verschrieben worden ist.

Die Darlegungen Lovatos in V. 30-82 fanden ihren natürlichen Abschluß in dem — allegorisch ausgedrückten — unbedingten Bekenntnis zu dem Versuch, lateinisch in Nachahmung der bewunderten Dichter der Antike zu dichten. Jetzt schaltet sich der Gesprächspartner wieder ein. Der Sprecherwechsel ist gesichert durch V. 84 *quem scribis in astra volantem* und V. 85 f. *dumque tenebras obicis*. Der sehr schwer zu verstehende Satz V. 83-86 gliedert sich in die beiden Imperativsätze *circumspice* und *concede* und die von diesen abhängigen Nebensätze. 'Doch damit dir nicht das Bild des Lichts (d.h. der Anblick des Lichts der Sonne) das Licht (d.h. die Sehkraft deiner Augen) verschließt, paß auf, daß der, den du als zu den Gestirnen fliegend beschreibst, die mittlere Bahn innehält und ihnen nicht zu nahe kommt!' (V. 83-85). Dieser Interpretationsversuch setzt in V. 84 *ut* statt *ne* (so bereits Sabbadini)⁷² und in V. 85 *ne* statt *te* voraus. Dem überlieferten Wortlaut kann ich keinen überzeugenden Sinn abgewinnen.⁷³ Wenn ich die Verse richtig verstehe, scheint der Gesprächspartner hier davor zu warnen, daß der Flug zur Sonne der antiken lateinischen Dichtung zu Blendung und Absturz führen kann und daß der in die Höhe fliegende deshalb sich in Acht nehmen und einen mittleren Kurs einschlagen soll, damit er nicht in die gefährliche Nähe der Gestirne kommt. Der Gesprächspartner greift also das Ikarus-Gleichnis auf und benützt es zu einer Warnung vor dem Versuch die lateinische Dichtung im antiken Stil anzustreben. Bezog sich der erste Imperativsatz damit auf die Gefährlichkeit von Lovatos Ziel, so scheint der zweite einen Mangel seiner Darstellung anzuprangern: 'und während du Dunkelheit hinstellst, gewähre der dunklen Nacht wenigstens das Licht der Dämmerung!' (V. 85 f.)⁷⁴. *tenebras obicis* dürfte hier nicht in dem Sinn zu verstehen sein, daß er anderen Dunkelheit vorwirft, sondern, daß er selbst dunkel spricht. Bereits Sabbadini bezog den Ausdruck auf "l'oscurità del suo (sc. Lovatos) modo di comporre"⁷⁵. Das Dunkel seiner Redeweise soll er etwas erhellen.

⁷² S. R. Sabbadini, a.a.O. (Anm. 69).

⁷³ Guido Billanovich, der die Verse im Wortlaut der Überlieferung zitiert (1976, S. 35), gibt mit keinem Wort an, wie er sie versteht.

⁷⁴ Zum Versschluß vgl. Ov., *Met.* 1, 219 und F. 5, 163 *crepuscula noctem*/.

⁷⁵ S. R. Sabbadini, a.a.O. (Anm. 69).

Diese Kritik beantwortet Lovato in V. 87-91. 'Weil er (gemeint ist der zu den Gestirnen fliegende Dichter) glaubt, man müsse den Spuren der alten Dichter folgen,⁷⁶ verachtest du ihn, oder (auch) weil er die nach metrischem Gesetz wohlgestaltete Rede zwingt, dem Gegenstand zu dienen, damit der Gegenstand nicht durch die Priorität des Wortes verändert untergeht, (oder) weil er die Metren eines klangreichen (d. h. gereimten) Textes verlacht, wo zusammenklingende (d. h. sich reimende) Wörter den gemeinten Sinn verdrehen.' Die Aufforderung seines Gesprächspartners hat Lovato provoziert, die Differenzen klarer auszudrücken. Grundsätzlich handelt es sich um die von seinem Gesprächspartner gering geschätzte Nachahmung der antiken Dichter, was sich sowohl prinzipiell auf die Dichtung in lateinischer Sprache als auch speziell auf ihre Stilform bezieht. Im besonderen wird im zweiten und dritten *quod*-Satz der Gegensatz zwischen der antiken quantifizierenden Metrik und der reimenden Textform hervorgehoben, die die französischen Chansons de geste aufweisen. Die quantifizierende Metrik wird damit verteidigt, daß in ihr die Worte im Dienste des darzustellenden Gegenstandes stehen, während reimende Wörter nach seiner Auffassung dem darzustellenden Gegenstand nicht gerecht werden können. Sie geben dem Klang die Priorität und entstellen den Sinn. Jetzt wird auch kenntlich, was hinter der anfangs in V. 9 geäußerten Kritik, die Chansons de geste folgten nicht ihrem *trames* und bemühten sich nicht um ihr *pensum*, stand. Die Reime lassen die Erzählung von ihrem durch den Gegenstand vorgezeichneten Weg abweichen. Das Verhältnis von *res* und *verba* stellte auch für die mittelalterliche Poetologie ein Problem dar. Matthaeus von Vendôme lehnt in seiner *Ars versificatoria* 2, 43 ff. die Reimverse des leoninischen Hexameters als *versus inopes rerum nugaeque canorae* ab (der Ausdruck übernimmt Hor., *A. P.* 322) und zuvor hatte sich schon Marbod von Rennes († 1123) gegen die *verba canora* und *concinna* gewendet, die das *pondus rerum* vernachlässigten und die *rerum virtus* nicht bewahren⁷⁷. Solche Argumentationen gegen Reime in der lateinischen Dichtung müssen auch Lovato geläufig gewesen sein⁷⁸. Wenn er sie gegen die französischsprachige Dichtung

⁷⁶ Der Ausdruck in V. 87 folgt Hor., *Epist.* 2, 2. 80 *contracta sequi vestigia vatum*/.

⁷⁷ S. E. Faral, a.a.O. (Anm. 25), S. 166 f., E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, Bd. 2, 5. Aufl. (Darmstadt 1958), S. 876 f., R. Düchting, "Maria im Versbock, Zu einer Oratio des Johannes von Werdea (gest. 1475)", in: *Philologische Untersuchungen, Festschrift für Elfriede Stutz* (Wien 1984), S. 487-499, bes. S. 489.

⁷⁸ In der *Vita Urbani* (1278) sagt der Verfasser in dem noch leoninischen Prolog (Muratori, s. S. III, 2, S. 404, 14 ff., nach A. Pannenberg, "Über den Ligurinus",

anwendet, handelt er ähnlich wie bei seiner Kritik gegen die 'barbarischen Hiats'. Es ist nicht anzunehmen, daß seine Einwendungen gegen die französische Dichtung sich auf Hiats und Reim beschränkten. Seine Entscheidung für die Nachahmung der antiken lateinischen Dichtung hat tiefere Wurzeln. Ausdrücklich nennt er jedoch nur diese beiden Punkte, die beide eine Übertragung von Vorschriften der lateinischen Dichtungslehre auf die volkssprachliche französische Dichtung darstellen.

Die folgende Gesprächspartie V. 92-96 ist neben V. 83-86 wohl die schwierigste des Textes. Sabbadini hat scherzend für sie (genauer für V. 93) als Erklärer einen Oedipus gefordert⁷⁹. Er las allerdings mit Foligno in V. 92 gegen die Überlieferung *num quidam sileat, qui penna secutus*, was keinen Sinn ergibt. Guido Billanovich hat nach der Überlieferung und mit richtiger Interpunktion *num quemdam, sileat quem penna, secutus* geschrieben⁸⁰. Er erklärt jedoch nicht den Zusammenhang, sondern behauptet nur, daß derjenige, dessen Name hier verschwiegen werde, der Tragiker Seneca sei, da in den folgenden Versen Stellen aus Senecas Phoenissen (118-24, 131-33, 137-44) und aus seinem *Oedipus* (92 f., 101 f., 212, 214 f., 246, 641) verwendet seien, in denen von der Sphinx gesprochen wird. Doch damit ist das Rätsel der Stelle keinesfalls gelöst. Der Zusammenhang bleibt weiterhin dunkel. Auch ist aus dem Umstand, daß Lovatos Senecalektüre die Wahl einzelner Worte beeinflußt haben könnte, nicht ohne weiteres zu schließen, daß Seneca derjenige ist, den der Relativsatz *sileat quem penna* meint — man könnte sonst auch auf Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, Statius oder Claudian tippen, die alle in den Versen 92-96 ihre Spuren hinterlassen haben. Es ist eine zusammenhängende Interpretation dieser Verse innerhalb ihres Kontextes zu versuchen. Sie allein kann auch eine Identifikation der in V. 92 verschwiegenen Person ermöglichen.

Dabei ist davon auszugehen, daß V. 92-96 Worte des Gesprächspartners sind⁸¹. Der Sprecherwechsel in V. 92 und in V. 97 ist durch

Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte 11, 1871, S. 161-300, hier S. 186, Anm. 2): *tres causas explico, quare/ more leonino dicere metra sino:/ Nasonis mores sequor hic fugiendo labores,/ ut sit nostra brevis dictio, vera (!), levis./*

⁷⁹ S. R. Sabbadini, a.a.O. (Anm. 69).

⁸⁰ S. Guido Billanovich 1976 (Anm. 1), S. 35 f. Luck konjizierte in V. 92 *num sileat quondam cui penna secunda* (Sisler: "Should someone, whose successful pen wove the riddle of the Sphinx in an intricate poem, be silent?"). Der überlieferte Text läßt sich meines Erachtens jedoch verstehen.

⁸¹ Guido Billanovich zitiert V. 83-105 jedoch ohne jedes Ausführungszeichen. Dasselbe gilt von Sislers Text.

Lovatos *despicias* in V. 88 und *despice* in V. 97 gesichert. Dazwischen müssen die Worte eines anderen stehen. Der Gesprächspartner will Lovatos Angriff nicht auf sich bzw. dem *cantor* sitzen lassen, dem soeben vorgeworfen wurde, durch seine Reime seinen Gegenstand zu entstellen und den intendierten Sinn zu verdrehen. Er greift deshalb wieder auf den schon vorher erhobenen Vorwurf der Dunkelheit Lovatos zurück. Entscheidend für das Verständnis der folgenden Fragesätze ist, ihr Subjekt richtig zu bestimmen: 'Wohlan sag'⁸²: folgte er denn einem gewissen Jemand, den meine Feder verschweigen möchte⁸³, und verband orakelhafte Rätselworte in einem verschlungenen (das Gemeinte verhüllenden) Gedicht, das die Sphinx des Oedipus gemacht haben könnte⁸⁴? Hat er denn in seinen Versen die Geheimnisse der delphischen Höhle herausgegeben⁸⁵? Hältst du ihn denn für einen etruskischen Augur⁸⁶? Vertraut er denn die Antworten der Sibylle den Blättern an?⁸⁷ Verkürzt lautet die Frage: 'Drückt er sich denn in seinem Gedicht wie jemand, den ich nicht nennen möchte, so dunkel aus wie die Sphinx des Oedipus, das delphische Orakel, ein etruskischer Seher und die kumäische Sibylle?' Die suggerierte Antwort ist 'nein', während umgekehrt dem Ungenannten eine solche Dunkelheit vorgeworfen wird. Das Subjekt des Fragesatzes ist meines Erachtens der eben von Lovato wegen der den Gegenstand verfälschenden Reime kritisierte *cantor*. Der Gesprächspartner betont im Gegenzug, daß der *cantor*

⁸² Die Eröffnungsformel *Dic age* nach Stellen wie Hor., *Sat.* 2, 7. 92.

⁸³ Guido Billanovich 1976 (Anm. 1), S. 35 wies auf Cat. 67, 45 f.: *quendam, quem dicere nolo/ nomine*: vgl. auch Ov., *Ib.* 9.

⁸⁴ zu *ambages* vgl. Verg., *Aen.* 6, 98: *Cumaea Sibylla/ horrendas canit ambages antroque remugit/ obscuris vera involvens*; Ov., *Met.* 7, 759 ff.: *Carmina Laiades non intellecta priorum/ solverat ingeniis et praecipitata iacebat/ immemor ambagum vates obscura suarum*; Stat., *Theb.* 1, 495 f.: *quos nexis ambagibus augur Apollo/ ... ediderat*. Die Wortform *Oedipodionii* stammt aus Stat., *Theb.* 10, 801; *perplexo carmine* vielleicht nach Liv. 25, 12 *carmen ... perplexius*; kannte Lovato Sil., *Pun.* 9, 60: *nec perplexo carmine coram/ fata cano vates*, worauf Sisler, S. 48, hinwies?

⁸⁵ Die Umschreibung von Delphi benützt wohl Luc., *Phars.* 5, 95: *Cirrhaea per antra*.

⁸⁶ Wegen der Singularität des *augur Etruscus* ist die Quelle für ihn sicher Claud., *IV. Cons. Hon. Aug.*, wo sich in V. 143 ff. auch die Reihe Delphi — *Etruscus augur* — Sibylle findet:

Qui vatum discursus erat? tibi corniger Hammon
Et dudum taciti rupere silentia Delphi,
Te Persae cecinere Magi, te sensit Etruscus
Augur et inspectis Babylonius horruit astris,
Chaldaei stupuere senes, Cumanaeque rursus
Intonuit rupes, rabidae delubra Sibyllae.

⁸⁷ Einfluß auf V. 96 hatte Verg., *Aen.* 3, 444 *foliisque ... mandat*, 6, 44 *responsa Sibyllae*.

seinen Gegenstand jedenfalls nicht in Dunkelheiten verhülle. Der Unge-
nannte ist dann kein anderer als Lovato, dem eben dies vorgeworfen
wird, und der Gesprächspartner zielt mit allen Fragen im Grunde darauf
ab, die Dunkelheit von Lovatos Dichten auf eine ihr entsprechende
Weise anzuprangern. Da aber natürlich Lovato selbst die Verse schrieb,
gibt er hier letztlich eine indirekte Selbstcharakteristik: Er hält die
obscuritas für eine wesentliche Eigenschaft seines Stils und dürfte sich
darin in der Nachfolge des eben für seine *obscuritas* bekannten Persius
sehen⁸⁸. Lovato konnte daran denken, daß er in der vorstehenden
Erörterung über die richtige Dichtkunst mehrfach 'Wahres in Dunkles
eingehüllt' hat⁸⁹, insbesondere wenn er den Sinn allegorisch durch
mythische Exempel ausdrückte.

Ab V. 97 soll Lovato selbst wieder als sprechend vorgestellt werden.
Er bezeichnet die Einstellung des Gesprächspartners gegenüber ihm wie
in V. 88 mit dem Verb *despicere*: 'Verachte mich nur! Ich will es
ertragen. Meine Auffassung steht fest'⁹⁰. Ich bleibe bei meiner Art und
korrigiere nicht den Fehler meiner alten Krankheit (d.h. meine *obscuri-
tas*). Jedoch habe ich Hoffnung: wenn das, was mein Schreiben enthält,
ein zuverlässiger Deuter⁹¹, der sich zuvor im Spiegel des Wassers der
Musenquelle gesehen hat (d.h. der sich zur Musenquelle herabgebeugt
und aus ihr getrunken hat) erklären dürfte, wird mein Vergehen viel-
leicht genug entschuldbar sein⁹², und ich werde mich nicht schämen,
damit gesündigt zu haben.'⁹³ (V. 97-102). Lovato erkennt die *obscuritas*
als ein ihm eigenes *vitium* an und spricht zugleich die Hoffnung aus, daß
künftig einer, den der Quell der Musen zum Dichter geweiht hat,
deutlicher machen wird, was er sagen wollte⁹⁴.

Lovato spricht am Ende noch zwei andere Hoffnungen aus. 'Vielleicht
wird sich auch ein wenig in die Luft erheben das Rebhuhn, und unsere

⁸⁸ Vgl. F. Hering, *Persius, Geschichte seines Nachlebens und seiner Übersetzungen in der deutschen Literatur*, Germanistische Studien 165 (Berlin 1935), S. 22, 27; J. Vadianus, *De Poetica et Carminis ratione (1518)*, ed. P. Schäfer (München 1973), Bd. 1, S. 263: *Visus est is (sc. Persius) multis ex professo obscurus*.

⁸⁹ Vgl. zum Ausdruck Verg., *Aen.* 6, 98 (zitiert oben Anm. 83).

⁹⁰ Guido Billanovich 1976 (Anm. 1), S. 36, wies auf Verg., *Aen.* 11, 551: *vix haec sententia sedit*.

⁹¹ Nach Hor., *A. P.* 133 f.: *fidus/ interpres* (s. Sisler, S. 147); zu *explicit* vergleicht Guido Billanovich 1976 (Anm. 1), S. 36, Sen., *Phoen.* 100.

⁹² Der Ausdruck nach Ov., *Epist. ex P.* 4, 11. 1: *crimen erit vix excusabile nobis*.

⁹³ Lucks Konjektur in V. 102 (*in für me*) ist meines Erachtens nicht erforderlich.

⁹⁴ Zum Ausdruck vgl. Prop. 3, 3. 5 f.; Ov., *Trist.* 3, 7. 15; Lovato 5, 93 Foligno: *Saepe ego Pegaseis latice e fontibus hausi*; Sisler, S. 49, weist auf Mart. 9, 58. 5 f.

Eule ihre beschränkte Sehkraft vergessen (d.h. verlieren) und der Nacht die Dunkelheit und der Sonne das Licht zuerkennen.' (V. 103-105). Die Allegorie dieser Verse ist nur über zwei Ovidstellen erschließbar. Vom Perdix berichtet Ovid unmittelbar im Anschluß an die Ikarus-Episode. Die Erzählung seiner Metamorphose in ein Rebhuhn endet mit folgenden Versen (*Met.* 8, 156 ff.):

Non tamen haec alte volucris sua corpora tollit
Nec facit in ramis altoque cacumine nidos;
Propter humum volitat ponitque in saepibus ova
Antiquique memor metuit sublimia casus.

Den Lezten Vers hatte Lovato bereits in V. 66 verwertet, um die Haltung seines Gesprächspartners zu charakterisieren, der sich also bereits dort gewissermaßen wie Perdix verhielt. Der kundige Leser ist vorbereitet, jetzt hinter dem Bild des Perdix den Gesprächspartner zu sehen, der sich wie Perdix nicht in die Lüfte zu erheben wagt, sondern sich aus Furcht vor einem Sturz am Boden bewegt, also nicht die lateinische Dichtung im Stil der Alten versucht, sondern in den volkstümlichen französischen Chansons de geste sein Ideal sieht. Demgegenüber spricht Lovato hier die Hoffnung aus, daß dieser 'Perdix' sich in Zukunft vielleicht doch ein wenig in die Lüfte erheben, d.h. das lateinische Dichten im quantifizierenden Versmaß versuchen und damit zu Lovatos Standpunkt übergehen werde.

Auf wen bezieht sich danach die allegorische *Nyctimene* (V. 104)? Wort und Versstelle sind Ov., *Met.* 2, 590 entnommen, wo die Krähe von der in eine Eule verwandelten *Nyctimene* spricht, die in *Met.* 2, 593 ff. so charakterisiert wird:

... Avis illa quidem, se conscia culpae
Conspectum lucemque fugit tenebrisque pudorem
Celat et a cunctis expellitur aethere toto.

Das von Lovato gesetzte Possessivpronomen *nostra* und der Umstand, daß sich die ovidische *Nyctimene* in der Dunkelheit (*tenebris*) verbirgt, lassen wohl zunächst an einen Bezug auf Lovato selbst denken, aber bei der Durchführung einer so gedeuteten Allegorie gerät man in Schwierigkeiten. Denn erstens wird der Eule von Lovato eine beschränkte Sehkraft vorgehalten, die sie hoffentlich in Zukunft verliere, während in der gesamten bisherigen Auseinandersetzung Lovato, als der erschien, der das Richtige wußte und den falsch urteilenden Gesprächspartner belehrte. Und zweitens scheint die Zuschreibung der Dunkelheit zur

Nacht und des Lichtes zur Sonne die richtige Unterscheidung und Zuordnung der schlechten und guten Dinge zu bedeuten, also wieder bezogen zu sein auf jemand, der dazu zur Zeit noch nicht in der Lage ist, was abermals nicht auf Lovato, sondern auf seinen Gesprächspartner zutrifft. Hinter 'unserer Eule' dürfte sich deshalb wieder der Gesprächspartner verbergen, so daß das allegorische Subjekt von Rebhuhn und Eule dasselbe ist. So wie *Nyctimene* das Licht flieht und sich in der Dunkelheit verbirgt, so flieht auch der Gesprächspartner das Licht der lateinischen Dichtung und will sich der französischen anschließen, die gegenüber der lateinischen der Dunkelheit entspricht. Lovato hofft, daß der Gesprächspartner doch noch seine beschränkte Sehkraft verlieren und künftig anerkennen wird, wo Dunkelheit und Licht wirklich sind, d.h. daß die lateinische Dichtung im Stil der Alten die Dichtungsform darstellt, die allein zu bewundern und anzustreben ist. Die *tenebrae* in V. 105 beziehen sich dann nicht wie in V. 85 auf die *obscuritas* von Lovatos Stil, sondern stellen den der Sonne der lateinischen Dichtung entgegengesetzten Bereich dar.

Damit ist der hexametrische Text beendet. Nur noch das elegische Distichon an Bellinus folgt, das auch durch seinen metrischen Wechsel die Einheit des vorangegangenen Textes markiert: 'Mein kleines Blatt schickt dir, Bellinus, meine Grüße; mögst du es nach Belieben auch für geschlossen oder beendet halten'⁹⁵.

Es ist zu hoffen, daß diese Interpretation zu einer weiteren Beschäftigung mit dem schwierigen Text anregt. Unter anderem dürfte deutlich geworden sein, daß er in mehrfacher Hinsicht für die Anfänge der geistigen Bewegung von Bedeutung ist, die wir den Humanismus der Renaissance nennen, und daß die Rolle, die Lovato in diesem Prozeß spielte, mit seiner Hilfe weiter erhellt werden kann⁹⁶.

⁹⁵ Zur Erklärung von *clausa vel acta* vgl. R. Sabbadini, a.a.O. (Anm. 4), S. 259.

⁹⁶ Die Interpretation wurde diskutiert auf einem Treffen norddeutscher Philologen in Hamburg im Juni 1985. Ich danke allen Beteiligten für ihre Anregungen. Eine erste Einordnung der Versepestel an Bellino in die Entwicklung vom Mittelalter zum Humanismus erfolgte in einem Vortrag, den ich am 16. August 1985 auf dem VI. Internationalen Kongreß für neulateinische Studien in Wolfenbüttel hielt.

Renate HAAS

CHAUCER'S *MONK'S TALE*:
AN INGENIOUS CRITICISM OF EARLY HUMANIST
CONCEPTIONS OF TRAGEDY

In all probability, Chaucer (ca 1343-1400) was the first poet to experiment with tragedy in the vernacular. What could have given him the incentive to this novel enterprise has long been a riddle to scholars, who find especially the *Monk's Tale* in need of a "generous view"¹. The most obvious reason, however, has gone almost completely unheeded, namely the revived interest in ancient tragedy, in particular Senecan tragedy, which was then beginning to spread from the Italian centres of early humanism and Avignon to other countries². In the first part of my article, I shall, therefore, trace the slow progress on the levels both of form and of content made by Nicholas Trevet, Italian scholars and poets, including Petrarch and Boccaccio, and English classicizers, and show that much of the new insight into tragedy can be found in Chaucer's work³. In the second part, I shall analyse how Chaucer in the *Monk's Tale*, its *Prologue*, and the following *Prologue to the Nun's Priest's Tale* experiments critically with the current conceptions of tragedy, and thus will strive to rehabilitate this underrated *Tale* as a brilliant response to the most advanced literary and philosophical discussion of the age.

¹ See, e.g., W. C. Strange, "The *Monk's Tale*: A Generous View", *Chaucer Review*, 1 (1976), 167; P. G. Ruggiers, "Notes towards a Theory of Tragedy in Chaucer", *Chaucer Review*, 8 (1973), 92; and A. Clough, "Medieval Tragedy and the Genre of *Troilus and Criseyde*", *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 11 (1982), 212-213. All my references to Chaucer are based on the edition by F. N. Robinson, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (London 1957²).

² The connection was mentioned *en passant* by W. Creizenach in his *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (Halle 1911), I, p. 519. For his "dramatic" reading of *Troilus and Criseyde*, J. Norton-Smith assumes that Chaucer studied Seneca's tragedies with the help of Trevet's commentary but does not relate this to the full Trecento context. See his *Geoffrey Chaucer* (London 1974), pp. 162 ff.

³ An earlier version of the first part of this paper was given at the "Erstes Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes"; Tübingen, 1984.

However, before entering into any detailed examination, two possible misunderstandings should be dealt with. First, the fact that Chaucer at the end of the *Monk's Tale* paraphrases Boethius' "definition" of tragedy⁴ does not necessarily exclude other influences or references, particularly as it can be demonstrated that Boethius' "definition" actually played an important role in the early humanists' attempts at a fuller understanding of tragedy⁵. Second, I wish to avoid giving the impression that Chaucer made an intense study of Seneca's tragedies or of Mussato (1261-1329), whom I frequently mention because of his pioneer work. What is far more likely is that Chaucer refers to the contemporary discussion and thus especially to Boccaccio and Petrarch. His dependence on Boccaccio has long been established, because in fifteen manuscripts the *Monk's Tale* is labelled "De casibus virorum illustrium", but no satisfactory explanation has yet been suggested for the Monk's terming Petrarch his "maister" in line 2325. In no way has the fact been taken into account that Lydgate (ca. 1370-1450), greatly interested in ancient tragedy since his early years⁶, associated the following works with Chaucer's "ful pitous tragedies": Seneca's tragedies, Cicero's "many fressh dite", Petrarch's "book.../ Off too Fortunys" and Boccaccio's "fall of pryncis"⁷.

I

The heightened interest in tragedy must be seen as part of another revival (others had preceded) of interest in classical writers. It was greatly advanced when the Paduan judge Lovato de' Lovati, searching the libraries in the vicinity for ancient manuscripts, discovered the Codex

⁴ Although in the context of *De Consolatione* II, pr. ii, the sentence, "Quid tragoediarum clamor aliud deflet nisi indiscreto ictu fortunam felicia regna vertentem?" was not intended as a definition, it was taken as such for many centuries.

⁵ Mussato had already made his master Lovato start from this in the *Evidentia Tragediarum Senecae*. See F. Novati's edition in his "Nuovi Aneddoti sul Cenacolo Letterario Padovano del Primitivo Trecento", *Scritti Storici in Memoria di Giovanni Monticolo*, eds. C. Cipolla et al. (Venice 1922), p. 188.

Questionable as it may be, the term "early humanists" will be retained here because it helps to focus on the new aspects.

⁶ In *Troy Book* II, i.e. only about ten years after Chaucer's death, Lydgate added a long excursus (842-916), which describes the staging of ancient tragedy in great detail, though rather confusedly and which, according to Norton-Smith (p. 168, n. 23), seems to derive from Trevet. See also III 540 ff. Ed. H. Bergen (London 1906-35).

⁷ *The Fall of Princes* I 246-71, ed. H. Bergen (London 1918).

Etruscus of the works of Seneca at the end of the thirteenth or in the first few years of the fourteenth century. Soon after this, in 1315, Cardinal Niccolò Albertini of Prato, one of the most influential papal politicians at the court of Avignon and patron of Petrarch's father, asked the English Dominican friar Nicholas Trevet to write a commentary on Seneca's tragedies, and as early as 1317 we find it registered in the papal library. These beginnings already indicate what important men were attracted by the new study of Seneca and how quickly they communicated across national borders. A detailed analysis of the English classicizers of the first half of the century might therefore provide further information about the interrelations between Italy, Avignon and England in the case of tragedy, too. Chaucer himself visited Florence, one of the centres of Seneca studies, on his first diplomatic mission to Italy in 1372-73. At that time, the former papal secretary Coluccio Salutati, the most important humanist after Petrarch and an ardent admirer of Seneca's tragedies, was either in Florence or in its vicinity. In 1382, a few years after another Italian mission of Chaucer, Salutati, now Chancellor of Florence, had to deal with an incident which may illustrate the state of enthusiasm reached. Two university scholars had become involved in a bitter dispute, because both wanted to lecture on Seneca's tragedies at the same time, and Salutati did not think it below his station to settle the quarrel⁸.

⁸ Creizenach, *Geschichte*, I, p. 518.

Mussato (1261-1329) was one of the most influential men of Padua and headed several embassies to the Pope and the Emperor. He dedicated his *Evidentia Tragediarum Seneca* to Marsiglio, the famous anti-clerical political philosopher, who assisted King Louis the Bavarian against Pope John XXII and his successors. His Latin tragedy *Ecerinid* was directed against Cangrande della Scala and was the principal reason why, at the instigation of the bishop of Padua and the rector of its university, Duke Albert of Saxony, he was crowned with the laurel. Within a few years, two professors — one from Padua, the other from Bologna — wrote a commentary on the *Ecerinid*.

There is no need to detail the influences of Dante (who may have got into contact with the studies of the circle around Mussato through Giovanni del Virgilio), Petrarch and Boccaccio. Friends of Petrarch composed commentaries or mnemonic verses on Seneca's tragedies, e.g. the Augustinian Dionigi de' Roberti, who taught in Naples, and Pietro de Muglio, who taught in Padua and Bologna. The anonymous *De Casu Caesena* (1377, called a tragedy in the second earliest manuscript) dealt with the destruction of Cesena, in which John Hawkwood (with whom Chaucer had to negotiate) played an important part. The tragedy planned by the nobleman Giovanni Manzini della Motta was to treat the fall of the house della Scala. Antonio Loschi, who about 1388 wrote his Latin tragedy *Achilleid*, was in the service of the house della Scala, later of the Visconti etc. W. Cloetta, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (1890-91; rpt. Leipzig 1976), *passim*; for Mussato and Loschi see also J. R. Berrigan, "Early Neo-Latin Tragedy

In their search for a fuller understanding of ancient tragedy, the early humanists were confronted with enormous difficulties as far as both form and content were concerned. And here we must start our survey in order to see why in the sixty to seventy years of intensified study up to Chaucer's day relatively little was grasped theoretically and why old and new often stood side by side, so that many statements about tragedy from this time still strike us as typically medieval.

Unfortunately the reconstruction of ancient tragedy had to be based on Seneca's tragedies, which were models of the mixing of genres current since the age of Augustus, which had been imitated by important epic poets (such as Lucan and Statius) and by Boethius, and about which there is even today doubt whether they were originally intended for staging at all. Furthermore, the theoretical statements which had come down from antiquity were a confusing jumble. They were derived from different systems of thought and often reflected the stage practice of late antiquity (e.g. *pantomimus*, recitation, prevalence of music and dance over the dramatic action). Some had been falsified in the process of being handed down, and some had become scarcely comprehensible since the meaning of relevant terms had changed. Thus for instance, the adjective *dramaticus* had taken on the broader meaning of 'dialogic', after the performances of tragedies and comedies had died out⁹ — which meant among other things that Seneca's tragedies could no longer be distinguished generically from philosophical dialogues such as his *De Tranquillitate Animi*, and were passed on without due regard to their genre.

In this respect, however, the Codex Etruscus gave a decisive impulse; for it prefaced Seneca's tragedies with a *notamentum* that again drew attention to their genre. Furthermore, the Codex contained numerous glosses on the diverse metres of the tragedies, which had the effect that the current broadening of the concept of tragedy to include epics such as the *Aeneid* and *Thebaid*, characterized by the hexameter, became ques-

in Italy", *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis*, eds. J. IJsewijn / E. Keßler (Leuven 1973), pp. 86-93.

The considerable number of richly illuminated codices of Seneca's tragedies dating from the fourteenth century is another indication of a distinguished readership.

⁹ In the fourth century, e.g., the grammarian Diomedes attributed Vergil's first and third eclogues, both dialogic, to the "genos dramaticon", for which he also used the traditional, dead adjectives "mimeticon", "imitativum" and "activum"; similarly Servius. See P. Klopsch, *Einführung in die Dichtungslehren des lateinischen Mittelalters* (Darmstadt 1980), p. 112.

tionable, and one tried again to differentiate between tragedy proper and a broader use of the word.

Yet metre, which had so far been neglected in defining tragedy, did not prove the simple master key to the peculiarities of the genre. For in his tragedies, Seneca certainly had used the hexameter, though rarely. He had adopted Horatian metres and his metres, in turn, had been imitated, for instance, by Boethius in his *Consolation*. Studies of Boethius' metres (e.g. by Lupus of Ferrières) were already available in the fourteenth century, and Trevet, Lovato and Mussato seem indeed to have used them. Yet recourse to these studies very probably created more problems than it solved. For how was one to establish a generic distinction between Seneca's tragedies and the *Consolation of Philosophy*? The *Consolation* may be considered a philosophical dialogue with inserted lyrics, and recently an expert on the reception of Seneca has even suggested that Boethius, writing in an era when there were no longer theatrical performances, might have tried to outdo Seneca (his most important Latin model beside Cicero) with a kind of "super-tragedy"¹⁰. Thus, we may note the five-part structure of the *Consolation*, its dialogues, its interspersed "choral odes" in Senecan metres, and the numerous other echoes of Seneca. This explains why Mussato, in discussing the metres of tragedy in the *Evidentia Tragediarum Senecae*, also cited the *Consolation* and ranked its author among the tragic poets¹¹. And to take an example from Chaucer's day, the chorus which a certain Giovanni Manzini della Motta quoted in a letter in 1388 as an example of the tragedy he was then working on is composed in a metre which cannot be found in Seneca, but can be found in the *Consolation*¹².

What great importance the early humanists already attached to the metres (later, as is well known, they were to become the cause of a regular *querelle*) can be seen in Petrarch. In his *Invective contra Medicum* he demonstrates his opponent's lack of culture among other things by pointing out that he would in all probability not know what a tragedy

¹⁰ P. L. Schmidt, "Rezeption und Überlieferung der Tragödien Senecas bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters", *Der Einfluß Senecas auf das europäische Drama*, ed. E. Lefèvre (Darmstadt 1978), p. 56.

¹¹ Ed. Novati, "Nuovi Aneddoti", pp. 189 ff. (Here, in contrast to the recent edition by A. C. Megas, the echoes in Guizzardo's commentary on the *Ecerinid* are also given on the same pages.)

¹² It is the *trimeter dactylicus catalecticis in syllabam cum Adonio*, used in *Consolation I c. ii*. See Cloetta, *Beiträge*, II, pp. 80-81 (also giving the beginning of the chorus).

was and what the change from the tetrameter to the iambic had signified (whereby he alludes to Aristotle's explanation of the origins of tragedy)¹³. Despite Petrarch's proud words the full significance of the metres for tragedy as for comedy, which throughout the centuries had been seen as complementary, was still lost to the early humanists. Thus, Boccaccio and other poets were also led to experiment with tragedies and comedies in prose, which Seneca had used in the generically confusing Menippean satire of the *Ludus de Morte Claudii* (still considered a tragedy, for instance by Boccaccio)¹⁴.

Chaucer's Monk, therefore, is well at the forefront of his age, when he deals with the question of metre in his introductory definition without being able to find a satisfactory solution:

And they ben versified communely
Of six feet, which men clepen *exametron*.
In prose eek been endited many oon,
And eek in meetre, in many a sondry wyse. (1978-81)

In view of the uncertainty prevalent at the time it would be unwise to dismiss this conception as typically medieval because of the emphasis on the hexameter. One should rather have a closer look at the final syllable of the word, which is stressed by the rhyme. "*Exametron*" is a Greek form, by which Chaucer seems to allude to the "Graecomania" of many an early humanist. Mussato had already employed Greek words in Greek letters in his treatises. In the case of Boccaccio it may suffice to recall his Greek or semi-Greek titles. Petrarch tried to learn Greek and made an effort to obtain copies of Euripides and Sophocles. English classicizers, too, wished to be able to read Greek, e.g. Richard de Bury, who had met Petrarch in Avignon, avidly collected ancient manuscripts, and gave the title *Philobiblon* to his defence of pagan literature.

Trevet attempted to explain the purpose of the choruses, and, in studying the functions of the metres, Mussato already recognized the importance of the speeches as an expression of the characters. In this he seems to have been helped greatly by Horace's *Ars Poetica*, which he

¹³ *Prose*, eds. G. Martellotti et al. (Milan 1955), p. 656. A direct reference to the *Poetics* follows on p. 658.

¹⁴ See Boccaccio's *Ameto*, subtitled a comedy, which is a bucolic and allegorical narrative with individual and antiphonal songs; the prose dialogue *De Casu Caesenae*; or Salutati's declamation about Lucretia's suicide (Cloetta, II, p. 145 and 54-67). For Boccaccio's comment about the *Ludus* see *Il Comento alla Divina Commedia*, ed. D. Guerri (Bari 1918), II, p. 79.

quotes¹⁵. Although he speaks of “dyalogos”, “trialogos”, and “tetralogos”, he nevertheless uses expressions such as “narratio” in the same context, which shows how hard it was to differentiate between epic and dramatic forms. His tragedy *Ecerinid*, written in Latin in 1314, which is modelled on Seneca with its five acts, choral odes in Seneca’s metres etc., still contains diverse epic elements (e.g. indications of the change of place through narrative verses) and in its very title imitates epics such as the *Aeneid* and *Thebaid*. The principal reason why a clear demarcation from the epic proved so difficult was that the ancient performance was imagined as mere recitation, with or without pantomimic support from actors. In its full form, this concept (which corresponded to classical variants in stage performance that had become predominant in late antiquity) contained the synchrony of language and bodily presentation, though not combined in the actors themselves. For the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, however, the emphasis still lay so strongly on the reciting poet that the gestures and miming of the actors remained just accidental and could easily be disposed of in their own “tragedies”. Thus, Mussato, in spite of following Seneca, also compared himself with Statius, whose *Thebaid* he imagined as having been recited on the stage, too¹⁶. Nevertheless, the question of performance was accorded far more interest than in the preceding centuries¹⁷.

Instead of considering the interplay of the speeches, the early humanists concentrated on their rhetoric — an aspect not specific to the genre but which the traditional definitions, the taste of the age and the quality of Seneca’s tragedies highlighted and which was to become of central importance in the Renaissance itself. In part, they experimented with highly declamatory speeches, as did Mussato in the *Ecerinid* and Loschi in the *Achilleid* (ca. 1388), the first two Latin tragedies modelled

¹⁵ “Harum [i.e. tragediarum] cuiuslibet contextus variis metrorum generibus varias reddit auribus intendentium concinnitates iuxta modorum loquendi prolationes multifarias, quarum communior est deploratio seu lamentatio. et harum aliarumque tragediarum materia principalior est de infortuniis conquestio: tota querulosa narratio metris iambicis descripta est ...” (Ed. Novati, p. 188) Shortly afterwards Mussato explains with the help of l. 79 of the *Ars Poetica* why the iambic is especially suited to express ‘the passion of a disturbed mind’.

¹⁶ “Carmine sic laetam non fecit Statius urbem, / Thebais in scenis cum recitata fuit.” *Fourth Epistle*, quoted from M. Pastore-Stocchi, “Un Chapitre d’Histoire Littéraire aux xiv^e et xv^e siècles: ‘Seneca poeta tragicus’”, *Les Tragédies de Sénèque et le Théâtre de la Renaissance*, ed. J. Jacquot (1964; rpt. Paris 1973), p. 28.

¹⁷ See Trevet; Dante’s son Pietro and Boccaccio in their commentaries on the *Divina Commedia*; Lydgate; and the drawings in fourteenth century codices.

on Seneca. Salutati wrote a declamation about Lucretia's suicide, in which the father and the husband, speaking together, try to dissuade her from her plan and then her answer follows. This *Tragedia de Lucretia*, as it is called in a fifteenth century manuscript¹⁸, was translated by Lydgate and incorporated into his *Fall of Princes* II 1058 ff. at the wish of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. And to take an example from fourteenth century France: Philippe de Mézières (who was a friend of Petrarch and recreated his story of Griselda almost at the same time as Chaucer¹⁹) repeatedly defined tragedy as "piteuse lamentation et declamation" and wrote an *Oratio Tragoedica seu Declamatoria ... in Passionem Domini Nostri*²⁰.

On the other hand, Boccaccio amongst others did write highly dramatic passages in works he did not describe as tragedies or comedies and without formulating a concept of the dramatic. Thus, for instance, in the *Elegia di Madonna Fiametta* he closely imitated the dialogue between the passionate heroine and the moderating nurse in Seneca's *Phaedra* — a type of scene which was to become characteristic of Italian Renaissance tragedy²¹. Concerning the *Decamerone*, Vittorio Russo has pointed out various elements from Seneca and stressed that it was not by chance that several of the *novellas* were adopted by several Renaissance writers of tragedy²².

In view of the existing confusion it is not at all surprising that the Monk still considers tragedy a "storie" and that Chaucer himself in almost one and the same breath calls *Troilus and Criseyde* a tragedy and yet commands it to show humility towards the great epic poets of antiquity (V 1786-92). It was not least the authority of Dante which supported traditional epic concepts of tragedy and comedy, as is impressively demonstrated by Boccaccio's criticism of his title *Divina*

¹⁸ Cloetta, I, p. 145.

¹⁹ It seems to have been Philippe himself who dramatized his story of Griselda in 1395, perhaps in connection with his endeavours to bring about the marriage between Isabella of France and King Richard II. Also the *entremés* about the first crusade, which was performed in 1378 on the occasion of the visit of the Emperor, and about the fall of Troy in 1389 may have been initiated by Philippe. See L. Hibbard Loomis, "Secular Dramatics in the Royal Palace, Paris, 1378, 1389, and Chaucer's 'tregetoures'", *Speculum*, 33 (1958), 242-255.

²⁰ E.g. *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin*, ed. G. W. Coopland (Cambridge 1969), p. 114, and *Livre de la Vertu du Sacrement de Mariage*, 136'. The *Oratio Tragoedica* (Bibliothèque Mazarine 1651, ff. 129-210) has not yet been edited.

²¹ H. J. Tschiedel, "Die Italienische Literatur", *Der Einfluß Senecas auf das europäische Drama*, p. 86.

²² "Il Senso del Tragico nel *Decameron*", *Filologia e Letteratura*, 11 (1968), 29-83.

*Commedia*²³. Chaucer, too, may have “rethorike sweete” in mind, when he uses “dite” in the glosses on tragedy and tragedian in the *Boece* and “enditen” in the Monk’s introductory explanation of tragedy, and when, in the Monk’s final paraphrase of Boethius’ “definition”, he adds “in syngyng” to the original wording.

One of the most rhetorical forms of speech, even a set piece, was lamentation, and this had for a long time been regarded as an essential part of tragedy²⁴. Lamentation again was not a trait exclusive to the genre, but through Seneca’s tragedies attention could certainly be focused on it. Loschi, for instance, closely imitated laments from the *Troades* in his *Achilleid*. Philippe de Mézières more or less equated tragedy with lamentation in his definition quoted above, and Deschamps apostrophized the tragic poets within a series of typical figures of lamentation in poems 206 and 503. This line, too, as is well known, was to be continued in the poetic theory and practice of the Renaissance.

Chaucer, likewise, emphasizes the aspect of wailing both in the Monk’s comments about tragedy and Harry Bailly’s criticism and uses a variety of elements of lamentation in the “tragedies” themselves. In accordance with contemporary concepts, he stresses the lamenting with regard to the reciting “poet”, i.e. the Monk (1991, 2663 and 2687), as he did at the beginning of his “litel tragedye” *Troilus and Criseyde* with regard to his own persona (I 6-14). There, independently of Boccaccio, Chaucer ironically stylized himself as a lamenter, who has to invoke Tesiphone instead of the muses, because a sorrowful tale requires a “drery feere” and a “sory chere”. In his serious imitation of this Chaucerian passage in *Troy Book* III 5423-57, Lydgate again makes explicit the association of tragedy with rhetorical lamentation, recited by the poet in the theatre. Because of the close linking of tragedy with rhetorical lamentation, Lydgate also mentions tragedy when dealing with rhetorical *pronuntiatio*, and the ultimate source for this complex of ideas may have been Horace’s extensive treatment of it in the *Ars Poetica* (101 ff.), one of the “Bibles” of the early humanists:

²³ Boccaccio argues that in a comedy the poet must not speak in his own person, that it is divided into scenes, not “canti”, and that it is intended for presentation in the theatre (which he still imagines as recitation). But in the end he accepts Dante’s classification as a broader understanding of “comedy” based on the definition according to the plot, as given in the *Epistle to Cangrande*. *Comento* I 114-16.

²⁴ See Boethius’ “definition”, also various medieval definitions, several of which contain the formulation “carmen luctuosum”, or the above quotation from Mussato (n. 15).

An heuy mateer requereth an heuy cheer;
 To a glad mateer longeth weel gladnesse;
 Men in pronouncyng mut folwe the mateer —
 Old oratours kan bern herof witnesse, —
 A furious compleynt vttrid in distresse:
 This was the maner, as poetis do descryue,
 In his tragedies whan Senec was alyue.

(*Fall of Princes* VI 3346 ff.)

As can be gathered from Lydgate's formulation "compleynt", the close linking of tragedy with lamentation anything but facilitated the delimitation of tragedy, because various kinds of lamentation, both independent or as parts of larger works, already existed. And these difficulties had been increased through the broadening of what was considered the appropriate subject matter of tragedy to include love (e.g. by Dante in *De Vulgari Eloquentia* II iv 8 and in Loschi's *Achilleid*). Love had traditionally been associated with comedy or the protean elegy, but its eligibility for tragedy could well be substantiated from Seneca. In order to picture the tangle confronting the early humanists, one need only consider how they were to distinguish between the presentation of Dido in the *Aeneid*, where about one half of Book IV is made up of long monologues and dialogues, or in Ovid's *Heroides* and a Seneca tragedy. Another widening of tragic subject matter, namely up to the recent past (which can be seen in Mussato's *Ecerinid*, *De Casu Caesenae* and Manzini's planned tragedy about the fall of the house of Scaliger) did not make the demarcation easier either, because it brought tragedy even closer to rhetorical historiography than it had already been. Both extensions can be found in Chaucer: to love in *Troilus and Criseyde*, to the recent past in the tragedies of the two Pedros, of Barnabo and Ugolino.

It was only in the combination of contentual and structural criteria that important theoretical advances were made in the fourteenth century. However, this does not apply to the division into five acts. The humanists were aware of it; Mussato, Loschi and others imitated it, but they could not yet penetrate to its inner function. Vilaragut, therefore, again replaced the word 'act' by 'book' in his translation of Seneca's tragedies into Spanish. Probably Chaucer's restructuring of the proem and nine parts of Boccaccio's *Filostrato* into the five books of *Troilus and Criseyde*, which up to now has not been satisfactorily explained, is also to be seen in this context²⁵.

²⁵ This does, of course, not exclude the model of Boethius' "tragedy" *De Consolatione*.

What was really important for future developments was that the traditional pattern of happy beginning and sad ending was brought into closer connection with Fortune. This was already implicit in Boethius' "definition" (not least as a consequence of the impact made on him by Seneca) and became now more prominent through the intensified study of Seneca, as can be seen from Mussato. He even made a further step by rediscovering a decisive reason why the heroes of ancient tragedy were of high rank (because this made possible a greater tragic "fall") — thus foreshadowing the restrictions of Renaissance poetics²⁶. How closely Fortune and tragedy were linked for the Trecento may further be illustrated by the fact that Giovanni Manzini della Motta (whom we have already mentioned) used a chorus about the fickleness of Fortune to give an idea of his planned tragedy about the fall of the house of Scaliger. So Chaucer's close linking of "tragedy" with the "unwaar strokes" of Fortune is not as new as it has seemed to some Chaucerians.

What was fascinating about Seneca's Fortune imagery over and above its poetic beauty was its content, as on the whole it was the message of the tragedies which appeared in a new light and which attracted the fourteenth century so much (thus also intensifying research into the formal aspects of tragedy). For a multitude of reasons, men had developed a special sensibility towards Seneca's Stoic determinism, underlying his grand Fortune metaphors, and towards his powerful heroes. Fortune, Stoic determinism and fortitude were, however, to be found in Seneca's philosophical writings as well (though less impressively there), so that from the point of view of the message, too, the distinction between his tragedies and philosophical dialogues was blurred.

Litterati et sublimes, including English classicizers, discovered new subtleties in Seneca, which they could apply to the burning problems of theological and philosophical discussion²⁷, but it was Petrarch's *De Remediis Utriusque Fortunae* which beat all. In this philosophical dialogue, Petrarch closely imitated the Stoic dialogue *De Remediis Fortuitorum*, then still ascribed to Seneca, and, though he obviously knew

²⁶ See D. George, *Deutsche Tragödien-theorien vom Mittelalter bis zu Lessing* (Munich 1972), pp. 34-38, and Cloetta, II, p. 32.

²⁷ See for England A. Minnis, *Chaucer and Pagan Antiquity* (Cambridge 1982), pp. 43-48, and J. Coleman, "English Culture in the Fourteenth Century", *Chaucer and the Italian Trecento*, ed. P. Boitani (Cambridge 1983), pp. 46-49.

better, availed himself of the goddess Fortune of pagan popular tradition to appeal for once to the *vulgares*, but was himself enticed by her²⁸. *De Remediis Utriusque Fortunae* deeply shocked his contemporaries and up to the present century Petrarch was repeatedly even judged to despise Christianity. In spite, or rather because of its shocking effect, *De Remediis* quickly spread beyond the leading circles so that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it surpassed all other works of Petrarch in renown.

This said, it should now be obvious why Lydgate (*Fall of Princes* I 246-71) associated Chaucer's tragedies not only with those of Seneca but also with Petrarch's "book.../ Off too Fortunys". Furthermore, an explanation can be found for his mentioning Tullius' "many fressh dite". Lydgate might have been thinking of Cicero's philosophical dialogues, possibly the *Tusculanae Disputationes*, which Petrarch admired and which, along with Seneca, were the principal source of his Stoicism. On the other hand, as far as Boccaccio's orthodox *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* is concerned, Chaucer seems to have been the first to recognize its affinities with contemporary concepts of tragedy. However, he did not remain the only one to do so. (See, over fifty years later, the Spaniard Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza²⁹.)

While Trevet, still typically medieval, thought that the good of tragedy rested in the "correctio morum per exempla", Mussato hoped that its representation of the fickleness of Fortune would guide people towards a kind of Stoic *ataraxia*³⁰. In his eyes, this attitude still remained part of a Christian framework, although in the *Ecerinid* he depicted a cruel and absolute tyrant and in its final chorus almost too bluntly alluded to Seneca's celebration of worldly renown. Yet it had been precisely the crimes and obscenities, the close connections with pagan religion and philosophy which had made the Church Fathers, in particular Augustine and Tertullian, condemn tragedy and thereby contribute considerably to its decline. Therefore, it is no wonder that Mussato was vehemently contradicted by the Dominican Giannino of

²⁸ Francesco Petrarca, *De Remediis Utriusque Fortunae*. Zweisprachige Ausgabe in *Auswahl*, ed. R. Schottlaender (Munich 1975), p. 26; K. Heitmann, *Fortuna und Virtus* (Cologne 1957), pp. 11 ff.

²⁹ Cloetta, I, p. 44.

³⁰ "Vox Tragici mentes ad contingentia fortes / Efficit, ignavus diluiturque metus, / Vincit in adversis semper constantia rebus, / Non habet hanc, illis qui rude pectus habet." (Quoted from George, *Tragödien-theorien*, p. 34.)

Mantua and that their dispute was much publicized. The controversy about the revival of tragedy and heathen literature in general, thus started, was to flare up again and again until it eventually raged between the Florentine humanists and Savonarola. Both Petrarch and Boccaccio felt the need to defend tragedy and to differentiate and refute Boethius' disdainful dictum of the "scaenicae meretriculae" (*Consolation* I pr.i)³¹.

The strictly orthodox had good reason indeed for their opposition because the humanists in their enthusiasm for ancient literature were often not aware of the contradictions between its ethical standards and those of the Christian faith. Thus in the official speech which he delivered as leader of the deputation sent from Milan to King John the Good in order to congratulate him on his release, Petrarch quoted from the *Thyestes* and attributed the King's capture by the English to Fortune, which shocked one part of the audience while captivating the other. Amongst the latter, incidentally, was the Crown Prince, who later as Charles V was to commission the early French translation of *De Remediis* (in which Petrarch had employed King John as one of his rare modern *exempla*)³². In his final chorus of the *Achilleid*, based on the famous chorus "Fatis agimur: cedite fatis" in the *Oedipus*, Loschi — like Seneca — even ventured to assert that God could not change 'whatever is woven by the fates on high'³³. That these and similar "heretical" lines of Seneca deeply affected men almost against their will may be illustrated from Boccaccio, who quotes them repeatedly³⁴.

With the greater awareness of Seneca's heathen traits even the humanists occasionally felt misgivings about his character. Was it at all possible that the tragedies had been written by the philosopher who throughout the centuries had been appropriated as "paene Christianus"? The scope of the œuvre, the mention of two Senecas by the rediscovered Martial, certain peculiarities of the *Octavia*, etc. seemed to suggest a separation, and since one had no idea of a *Seneca rhetor*, one distinguished between a *Seneca philosophus* and a *Seneca tragicus*. First indications of this separation can be found in Petrarch and Boccaccio and it was so well substantiated by Salutati and others that it prevailed far into the sixteenth century.

³¹ *Invective contra Medicum*, in *Prose*, p. 660; *Genealogie Deorum Gentilium Libri*, ed. V. Romano (Bari 1951), II, p. 696 ff.

³² Cloetta, II, p. 86; Heitmann, pp. 29 and 39.

³³ A. Mussato, *Ecerinis*, ed. L. Padrin / A. Loschi, *Achilles*, ed. A. da Schio, introd. and transl. J. R. Berrigan (Munich 1975), pp. 186-187.

³⁴ E.g., *Comento alla Divina Commedia* III 16 and *Genealogie*, ed. cit., I, p. 25.

Chaucer's Monk, therefore, is well in line with the avant-garde when he exhibits a certain caution towards the traditional high esteem for Seneca's character (2498). Like the Italian humanists this does not prevent him from applying himself to tragedy and from expecting positive effects from its presentation of the fickleness of Fortune.

II

Seen against the background sketched so far, the *Monk's Tale* no longer appears to be a mere experiment in form, which is extremely boring to the modern reader, but an ingenious response to the most advanced contemporary literary and philosophical discussion.

The enthusiasm of the international élite may perhaps have induced Chaucer to experiment with tragedy in a series of short narratives quite early in his career³⁵. Later, however, in his most mature phase, he seems to have viewed the fashionable form rather critically and thus, after having ironically employed it in *Troilus and Criseyde*, may have been tempted to put it to the full test by assigning it to a certain teller, by presenting audience reactions, and by relating it to other tales and their effects on the listeners. Having tried his hand at so many different styles and genres, Chaucer will have been the more conscious of the inadequacies of the current definitions of tragedy. As has been shown above, the criteria were scanty, and since one had not yet developed a proper concept of the dramatic, a *clear* demarcation from various other forms was still impossible, in particular from epics, rhetorical historiography, elegy, and philosophical dialogue. Moreover, tragedy had again become highly controversial because of its pagan implications, and when working on the Canterbury collection, which he concluded with the *Parson's Tale* and his *Retraction*, Chaucer could well have been very sensitive to this. Writing English tragedies did not merely mean presenting a sad end, "a sorweful cas" "*saufly*" in a chronicle with "faire enditing", "As for a sovereyn notabilitee", as the Nun's Priest mocks at certain "rethors"³⁶, but it meant introducing into English literature a potentially dangerous form. Tragedy, which had been held in highest esteem by the ancients, like the particularly low *Priapeia* raised funda-

³⁵ For the old theory of an early origin of the tragedies see R. K. Root, "*The Monk's Tale*", *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (Chicago 1941), p. 615.

³⁶ 3204 ff.; italics mine.

mental questions about reviving classical forms and about the functions of secular literature in general with ultimate poignancy.

A first dexterous move in Chaucer's critical testing of tragedy is its being assigned to the Monk. This is certainly appropriate, if one takes the contemporary context into account. Beside jurists, administrators and men of affairs, it was primarily high-ranking or particularly learned churchmen who cherished the ancient works, including tragedy, and neither in the *General Prologue* nor in the prologue to the tale does Chaucer tire of accentuating the prominent status of his Monk³⁷. He points out that Daun Piers holds "after the newe world the space" (*General Prologue* 176), and with his predilection for the sports of the nobility, exquisite food and splendid, fashionable array, he would indeed fit perfectly into a Renaissance court as it is often envisaged, or into one of the papal courts of the fourteenth century, which in their combination of worldliness and classicizing drew heavy criticism upon themselves (e.g. that of Clement VI).

Tragedy has for the Monk the advantage of allowing him to react to the innuendoes of the Host in accordance with his role. It not only permits him to pose as a spiritual guide (he offers the tragedies as an alternative to a "lyf of Seint Edward") but as a very progressive and artistic one at that. Since the Monk knows that the "manere" which fascinates the international élite is still hardly known in England outside certain circles, he first explains to his audience what a tragedy is, as Chaucer himself found he had to add glosses on "tragedy" and "tragedian" in the *Boece*. The Monk is correspondingly proud — see his ostentatious use of a Greek word and the condescending, "Lo, this declaryng oghte ynogh suffice", with which he concludes his introduction (1982). Also in his apology for his ignorance, in case he should confuse the chronology, he seems to assert his learning indirectly. The self-stylization which tragedy allows on account of its novelty is further heightened by its sublime character. The Monk can deal with "popes, emperours, or kynges", in short, *virii illustres* and thus perhaps remind the educated of Petrarch and Boccaccio, who included this key phrase in titles of their works. Like the great ancient poets and the three most admired Italians of his century, he can avail himself of a rare, elevated metre and of "rethorike sweete", which goes especially with lamentation.

³⁷ See, e.g., Chaucer's designation of him as "lord" in the *General Prologue* 172 and 200, the frequency of addresses by "lord", "sir", "daun", and "ye" in the prologues to the *Monk's Tale* and *Nun's Priest's Tale*, Harry's enquiry after his house by his "fader kyn" ...

(Compare his closing characterization of tragedy by "in syngyng crie ne biwaille" and the "*I wol biwaille ...*" with which he makes his entrance as a tragic lamenter³⁸.)

Yet, however proud Daun Piers may be of his knowledge, he does not escape his author's irony. His showy Greek "*exametron*" is, in fact, the most common of Latin metres and he presents it in a way which, though correct, looks illogical (six feet = 'six-metre'). The pedantic repetition between the prologue to, and his programmatic beginning of, the tale do not make him appear brilliant either. By such means Chaucer sows doubts about the excellence of Daun Piers's learning, even before he lets him actually embark on his tale. Since he has made it clear in the *General Prologue* that the Monk is not prepared "Upon a book in cloystre alwey to poure", his knowledge of tragedy appears due more to his contact with the right people than to his own studies. Assigning tragedy to a small-scale or perhaps even pseudo-humanist, of course, opens up great possibilities for critical experimentation and further ironies. While the Monk in telling his tale continues in his pose of superior learning and refinement, referring, for instance, to Persian sources (2248) and a mysterious Trophée, who sounds impressively Greek (but who in connection with the 'trophies' of Hercules is more probably a mere misreading, 2117), he is an ideal medium for bringing out the weaknesses of tragedy.

Formal deficiencies in the current definitions show in the fact that exemplary narratives can be taken from diverse sources and hardly need any adaptation. They may vary greatly in length and Chaucer makes them range from a mere eight verses to well over one hundred. That he was fully conscious of deficits in this respect seems to become evident in his calling *Troilus and Criseyde* ironically his "litel" tragedy (V 1786). Thus on several occasions, he has the Monk refer to more comprehensive versions (2319 ff., 2459 ff., and 2719 ff.) or use the *praeteritio* (2311, 2355, 2575 ff. and 2647 ff.). In the tragedy of Caesar, he makes a point of digressing for "a litel while" into a lament for Pompey. Once, after having met the requirements for tragedy, he makes the Monk declare his task as fulfilled (2458). Furthermore, it is still not clear whether tragedies bewail "noon oother maner thyng" but the falls of "regnes that been proude", as Boethius' "definition" suggests (2761-64), or whether they bewail individuals "that stoode in heigh degree" (1975-94), or what the

³⁸ Italics mine.

relation between the two ought to be. The Monk, at any rate, chooses great individuals and in some tragedies adds the ruin of their realms, while in others he does not. The impression that the *Tale* is mechanical and at the same time rather formless, which modern readers cannot help gaining, may therefore be the result of Chaucer's critical experimentation and for the most part intended.

Still more energetically, Chaucer probes into the philosophical implications of tragedy. Where Daun Piers blunders most is in his presentation of Fortune, which, as has been shown above, was really the crucial point both of the various ideas about tragedy and of more general philosophical controversies of the age. At first, in the prologue to the tale, the Monk defines tragedy traditionally as a *casus*, without a single mention of Fortune. Then, in his programmatic beginning, he follows Boethius' "definition" and contemporary conceptions, mostly derived from it, and accentuates the fickleness of Fortune (see "list") as the irresistible cause of the fall into adversity, out of which one cannot be brought by any "remedie". Without noticing the differences or caring about Fortune's relation to God, the Monk — apparently for the sake of completeness — goes on to employ Lucifer and Adam for his first two tragedies. In doing so, he more or less presses those *casus* which in the Christian view have determined the history of mankind and which are the "classic" examples of the free will God permits his creatures, into the heathen, deterministic pattern presented just before — again without realizing the discrepancies. Though the Monk does concede with Lucifer that "Fortune may noon angel dere" and that he fell for his sin, this does not make him reconsider either the definitions or the attribution. Nowhere in the Adam tragedy does he refer to Fortune, nor does he speak of sin but merely a secularized "mysgovernaunce". Chaucer's audience, however, may have noticed the contradictions, especially those members of it who remembered Boccaccio's *De Casibus*. Warned by the first two examples, which are rather gross, they would have been sensitive to the inconsistencies and weaknesses which follow. In several later tragedies, Fortune is again missing altogether. Her relationship to God remains unclear throughout. At one time, she appears completely pagan (for example, when she laughs in amusement at Nero's suicide), at another, she and God are mentioned in one and the same breath. The Monk's philosophical confusion reaches a climax with his last example (in the best manuscripts) when he includes a

prescient dream and nevertheless goes on stressing that Fortune overthrows her victims whenever she chooses (see "unwaar strook")³⁹.

Apart from Lucifer and Adam, Daun Piers never sees the ends as eternal damnation ("helle"), although in various cases this would have been the correct Christian interpretation. Rather he continually bewails the loss of greatness, which he has already emphasized in earlier passages. Compare his lament for the great conqueror Alexander:

Who shal me yeven teeris to compleyne
The deeth of gentillesse and of franchise,
That al the world weilded in his demeyne,
And yet hym thoughte it myghte nat suffice?
So ful was his corage of heigh emprise.
Allas! ... (2663 ff.)

Far from criticizing Alexander's hubris, the Monk devotes to him words reminiscent of Jeremiah's wailing about Israel, "quis dabit capiti meo aquam et oculis meis fontem lacrimarum / et plorabo ..." — a formulation which had passed into the matins of Passion Sunday and many religious laments⁴⁰.

Yet, the more Daun Piers stresses the worldly glory of his heroes, the more frustrating their falls become, in particular when unequivocally attributed to the arbitrariness of Fortune. In other words, instead of transcending the tension between the glorification of the hero and the presentation of his inability to prevent the final catastrophe, which is basic to tragedy, Chaucer accentuates it through his half-learned and undiscerning Monk, who does not dream of manifesting human greatness in failure and suffering. To a Christian audience the paradox of tragedy becomes the more agonizing as the Monk not only abstains from subordinating Fortune to God but, with the exception of the first two examples, also finishes with the catastrophe in this world. No consoling vistas into the beyond are opened up. Particularly disconcerting is the case of Antiochus, for, notwithstanding the fact that his punishment has made him recognize God as the Lord of every creature, he has to die a miserable death, unrelieved by any spiritual comfort.

However, the more agonizing the falls of the heroes become and the

³⁹ For a more detailed discussion of the contradictions see R. K. Delasanta, "'Namore of this': Chaucer's Priest and Monk", *Tennessee Studies in Literature*, 13 (1968), 123-126.

⁴⁰ See R. Haas, *Die mittenglische Totenklage* (Frankfort 1980), p. 98.

more the philosophical confusion grows, the more Chaucer also undermines the teaching tragedy might convey. It gets more and more difficult to draw a positive moral from the Monk's stories. In his programmatic introduction, the Monk has exhorted the pilgrims to "be war by thise ensamples trewe and olde". Apart from the admonition not to "truste on blynd prosperitee", he has then not specified the lesson to be learnt and, tellingly enough, has not given it any explicitly Christian colouring. But if the "unwaar strook" of Fortune is the ultimate fact, what use is there then in not trusting her? in not confiding too much in one's lover or in self-knowledge (two morals which the Monk distils from several tragedies)? in taking a warning from a prescient dream? The advantage of a purely secular *ataraxia*, which the Monk, like Seneca and some early humanists, might have aimed at, does not become clear from the *Tale*. Chaucer makes his small-scale humanist spoil this possible secular moral not only by his general tangle of contradictions but above all by committing the blunder of bringing in God's grace several times. In the case of Nabugodonosor, Daun Piers even lets God's grace provide a "remedie" against the worst consequences of the fall, which is completely at variance with his understanding of Fortune tragedy in his programmatic beginning and cannot but discredit both the genre and its teaching.

After Chaucer has got his would-be humanist completely entangled in the snares of the contemporary concepts of tragedy and in so doing has given another variation on the existential themes with which he is concerned in the *Canterbury Tales* — such as fate, predestination, grace, free will, love, virtue, and the functions of knowledge —, he continues his evaluation of the fashionable form in a more direct way, by subjecting it to audience criticism. Instead of providing "solas" and of effecting Stoic calm, he lets the Monk's offerings provoke energetic resistance. As in the whole of the *Canterbury Tales* there are only two other stories which are interrupted by listeners, the violence of this criticism is the more conspicuous. In the best version, it is the Knight who stops the Monk and he is seconded by the Host, which means that Chaucer makes the highest-ranking secular pilgrim and one of the lowest agree in their rejection of the tale of the highest-ranking churchman. The reasons for their opposition are, however, poles apart. The Knight is touched because he understands and revolts against the gist of the tale. The Host is untouched and frustrated because he is devoid of understanding.

The Knight, who may be of a similar, more or less educated worldliness as the Monk⁴¹, seems so chilled to the marrow that he forgets his usual meekness. He objects to the tragedies because of an excess of "hevynesse" (which may for him be exacerbated by the fact that former leaders of his were among the *exempla*) and as an antidote he demands a story built on exactly the opposite pattern: a rise from "povre estaat" to permanent "prosperitee".

The lack of understanding on the part of the uneducated Harry Bailly could be expected from his general directing of the storytelling game, but it has been specifically prepared for by Chaucer in the *Prologue to the Monk's Tale*. There he has made the Host reveal himself to be a hen-pecked husband, who has no desire to prove himself a hero, but is forced by his wife to behave "lik a wilde leoun, fool-hardy". In his unresponsiveness Harry is an ideal medium for yet another play upon the current concepts of tragedy, for in his parrot-like repetition of words from the Monk's last sentence and the Knight's criticism, which he binds together by some comment of his own, Chaucer can parody the most important criteria for tragedy: The would-be humanist's rhetorical self-stylization, his "syngyng", strikes Harry merely as a "lowde clapping". Insensitive to the poetic beauty of the Fortune image in which the Monk has just excelled himself, he takes it literally and is unable to comprehend its message. In contrast to the avant-garde, the novel idea of "tragedy" leaves him cold, but he seems to have grasped that it means a considerable amount of lamentation, which is not to his taste in a tale. Whatever "historic" dignity the examples may have, the pragmatic Host sees no "remedie" in bewailing and complaining "That that is doon". This may, if at all, be justified in lent, concerning one's sins (*Clerk's Prologue* 24). In contrast to other tales, e.g. the *Physician's Tale*, the "hevynesse" here annoys Harry as being a complete lack of "desport" and "game". Finally, the calm that the Monk's tragedies have produced in lively Harry is mere sleepiness.

After Chaucer has concentrated his dramatized criticism of tragedy on its negative effects on the audience, which have culminated in reactions both from the Knight and the Host that seem almost contrary to their

⁴¹ For an emphasis on the manifestations of an un-Boethian interest in purely earthly happiness in the *Knight's Tale* which does away with the philosophical discrepancy felt by various scholars between his own tale and the alternative that he suggests to the Monk's tragedies, see E. C. Schweitzer, "Fate and Freedom in *The Knight's Tale*", *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 3 (1981), 13-45, esp. 44.

characters, he concludes by returning to the teller. When the Host, starting from the sound premise that one can present those matters best which one has in one's heart and head⁴², suggests Daun Piers should change to a story about hunting, Chaucer makes him imply a discrepancy between the gloomy tragedies and their worldly teller. This incongruity has been strongly felt by modern critics, too, and it certainly proves puzzling as long as one does not view it as part of Chaucer's evaluation of tragedy and the contemporary enthusiasm for it. While Harry considers the Monk's choice of story inappropriate to his actual character, his own and the Knight's reactions, of course, also prompt doubts about the appropriateness to what the Monk should ideally be. Chaucer further encourages his readers to think along these lines through a telling piece of irony. He lets the Host crown his dismissal of the tragedies by the irrefutable argument that "Whereas a man may have noon audience,/ Noght helpeth it to tellen his sentence". This point, for which Harry refers to "thise clerkes" and which he may simply remember from the preceding *Tale of Melibee* (so that Chaucer-the-pilgrim would be one of his "clerkes"), is, in fact, a biblical echo. Thus, Chaucer makes someone as worldly and unlearned as an innkeeper blame the highest-ranking churchman among the pilgrims, who *ex officio* should spread the 'good spell' but is proud of his secular pseudo-learning, for the "hevynesse" of his tale using a Biblical proverb.

Chaucer continues to sow doubts about the appropriateness of tragedy through his presentation of the Monk's final response. Daun Piers turns down the requests for "somwhat elles", with the words, "I have no lust to pleye". Unlike other "intellectuals", Chaucer-the-pilgrim and the Clerk, whom the Host also thinks he must rouse from their ruminations and admonish to join in the "pleye" with cheerfulness, the Monk after all is neither prepared nor able to do so fully. The Clerk seemingly complies with Harry's preliminary injunctions in a brilliant performance; Chaucer-the-pilgrim modestly offers a second tale, which passes Harry's requirements. Daun Piers, however, refuses to gratify the wishes of his listeners, and one reason may be his pride in his modern learning, which makes him decline to descend (as he will view it) to the vulgar entertainment of a story about hunting or the philosophical insipidity of the Knight's alternative. A deeper reason might be that he

⁴² This reading of ll. 2803-4 was suggested by M. Lehnert, *Geoffrey Chaucer: Die Canterbury-Erzählungen* (Leipzig 1981), p. 436.

has succumbed to the sin of *acedia*, as has been suggested by several critics⁴³, who have, however, failed to notice the new traits. If Daun Piers is a victim of *acedia*, this is seen less in traditional terms (as an offence against God's commandments) than as a sadness about the wickedness of the world and Fortune's unfair blows — as “worldli hevynesse”, to pick up both the criticism of the Knight and the Host and Lydgate's formulation in connection with Petrarch's *De Remediis*⁴⁴. This would mean that the Monk's tragedies not only fail to instruct and delight his audience but proceed from a sinful state of mind that they perhaps even aggravate further — a conclusion which would constitute a devastating criticism of the fashionable form.

While Chaucer does not grant his readers a glimpse into the Monk's soul and leaves it to them to decide for themselves, he uses another means of giving focus to his assessment of tragedy. As the fact that he has made a small mind experiment with the fashionable form might detract from his criticism, he provides a counterbalance by endowing the Monk and his *Tale* with certain traits that were known from Petrarch and by playing on them in the context as well.

Reference to “maister Petrark” recommended itself, because although he had just written a comedy called *Philologia* in his youth and no tragedy, he was the most prominent advocate of the “newe” thought, with which tragedy was intimately linked⁴⁵. In particular his *De Remediis*, as has been shown above, offered striking parallels to the current concepts of tragedy and was moreover one of the most progressive and most controversial works of the age. Boccaccio, for example, had used it as evidence for the value of secular literature in *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium* XIV⁴⁶, and Charles V of France had commissioned a translation of it the year before Chaucer started work on the *Canterbury Tales*, whereas Salutati, otherwise a great admirer of Petrarch, attacked its philosophical shortcomings in *De Fato, Fortuna et Casu* in 1396-99, i.e.

⁴³ E.g. D. E. Berndt, “Monastic *Acedia* and Chaucer's Characterization of Daun Piers”, *Studies in Philology*, 68 (1971), 435-450.

⁴⁴ *Fall of Princes* I 266. For Petrarch's novel interpretation of *acedia*, which seems to have informed Chaucer's, see E. Loos, “Die Hauptsünde der *Acedia* in Dantes *Commedia* und in Petrarca's *Secretum*”, in *Petrarca*, ed. F. Schalk (Frankfurt 1975), p. 178.

⁴⁵ By highlighting the references to Petrarch, I do not, of course, want to deny other humanistic influences and references. In particular Boccaccio's more strictly orthodox *De Casibus* may have given Chaucer suggestions for his criticism. See P. Boitani, “The *Monk's Tale*: Dante and Boccaccio”, *Medium Aevum*, 45 (1976), 50-69.

⁴⁶ Ed. cit., II 710-11.

when Chaucer was still working on the *Tales*. Shortly after Chaucer's death, the German translator of *De Remediis* thought it advisable to dissociate himself from any notions in the work that the reader might find offensive and the anonymous English adapter did not refrain from significant alterations⁴⁷. That Chaucer himself, though impressed by the renowned "lauriat poete, ... whos rethorike sweete / Enlumyned al Ytaille of poetrie", was by no means overwhelmed, but thought Petrarch's novel ideas and literary achievements a challenge to be met becomes obvious both in his use of Sonnet 88 in *Troilus and Criseyde* and his handling of Petrarch's story of Griselda, which is anything but slavish and shows some reserve towards Petrarch's understanding of the functions of high secular literature⁴⁸. Having, then, realized the affinity between Petrarch's *De Remediis* and the current concepts of tragedy, Chaucer could not only heighten his criticism of tragedy but also make it reflect on Petrarch.

Thus, in his presentation of the role of Fortune, which was central both to the concepts of tragedy and *De Remediis*, Chaucer makes his Monk get astonishingly close to Petrarch, as he, too, seems to be captivated by the goddess Fortune of popular ancient tradition. In important places, e.g. his programmatic introduction, Daun Piers greatly stresses her fickleness and the finality of her working, without subordinating her to God (or any god). On the other hand, again like Petrarch, the Monk does not strive to exclude Christian notions altogether, with the result that pagan and Christian elements intermingle and contradictions arise. While, however, great Petrarch could gloss over such discrepancies and dazzle his readers, Chaucer's would-be humanist fares badly. Unwittingly he simplifies everything and so the contradictions multiply, especially when he introduces those tenets that most of the early recipients of *De Remediis* seem to have missed desperately and that the English adapter from the beginning of the fifteenth century could not help inserting, i.e. God's grace and life after death⁴⁹. In the hands of the blundering Monk, therefore, the recently revived Fortune of popular pagan tradition and also the determinism of

⁴⁷ R. Coogan, "Petrarch's Latin Prose and the English Renaissance", *Studies in Philology*, 68 (1971), 270-276; Heitmann, pp. 11-13 (where also evidence of the Emperor's keen interest in *De Remediis* is adduced).

⁴⁸ See A. Middleton, "The Clerk and His Tale: Some Literary Contexts", *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 2 (1980), 121-150.

classical Stoicism lose much of their attraction. Even more so does the Stoic view of man, which is almost totally perverted.

His sensitivity to the vicissitudes of life and his difficulties in fully, not merely rationally, accepting them as part of God's plan — experiences which the imagery of the emancipated pagan Fortune could so well express —, nevertheless led Petrarch, like ancient Stoics, to an assertion of man's moral autonomy and greatness. Having acknowledged his limits, man could and should fashion his life within them, and models for this were to be found in the "*virii illustres*" of earlier ages, above all of classical Greece and Rome, which Petrarch thought in most respects far superior to his own time⁵⁰. Sham humanist that he is, Daun Piers naturally has to imitate Petrarch's concern with and even glorification of the great ancients — allowing his author to make *his* contribution to another vital complex of the controversy. Petrarch's innovation of studying exemplary figures as manifestations not so much of eternal truths as of human possibilities and greatness still continued to prove exciting and provoking. Boccaccio, for example, had received a decisive impulse for his *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* from Petrarch's *De Viris Illustribus*, and soon after Chaucer's death the English adapter would be so vexed by Petrarch's use of heroic ancients in *De Remediis* that he substituted saints and biblical figures⁵¹.

By making his Monk present tragedies, Chaucer even allotted to him a classical form excellently suited for celebrating heroes and human greatness in general, because, owing to its nature and its long neglect, tragedy had not undergone so much Christian assimilation as other genres (e.g. the epic), and by imitating Senecan tragedies, Trecento poets (Mussato, Boccaccio and Loschi) had already progressed in this direction. Chaucer none the less manages to make his sham humanist thoroughly spoil the effect of hero worship. He does let him praise his *virii illustres* and *clara femina*, and in a way which has been felt to be very forward-looking, closer to Spenser than to Chrétien⁵², but then questions the value of their heroism with still greater impact. Instead of asserting human greatness in failure and suffering, he has the Monk present his *virii illustres* just as helpless victims — be it of an absolute

⁴⁹ See Coogan, pp. 275-276.

⁵⁰ See E. Keßler, *Petrarca und die Geschichte* (Munich 1978), pp. 102 ff.

⁵¹ See Coogan, p. 276.

⁵² A. Middleton, "Chaucer's 'New Men' and the Good of Literature in the *Canterbury Tales*", in *Literature and Society*, ed. W. Said (Baltimore 1980), p. 45.

Fortune, chance, God's punishment, or the consequences of their own mistakes —, that is, again as examples of the *vanitas vanitatum*. Since he, like his model Petrarch, has no eschatological comfort to offer, the final impression, as the Knight testifies, is one of excessive "hevynesse".

Chaucer's basic irony concerning hero-worship consists, of course, in his transferring of the sublime tragedy from the coteries of the international, Latin élite to the story-telling game of the mixed lot of his English pilgrims — a stark contrast that he accentuates beyond his mini-humanist by saturating the whole context with ironies. Thus he immediately places before the Monk's series of heroes from world history two mock-heroic figures from English low life: the Host, who is forced by his wife to rage "lik a wilde leoun", and Goodelief herself, a frustrated Amazon, who — like the defeated Cenobia — would gladly exchange her distaff for a weapon. He even makes unheroic Harry utter a view that echoes Petrarch's basic conviction that "This world is nat so strong, it is no nay,/ As it hath been in olde tymes yoore", as cited by the Clerk in a prominent place (*Clerk's Tale* 1139-40, determining the moral to be drawn from the story of Griselda). Harry, however, offers a very prosaic explanation for the weakness of the present generation and recommends a simple remedy. Afterwards it is to this critic that Chaucer assigns the longer evaluation of the tragedies, while the Knight represents the estate that holds the traditional claim to heroism.

Moral philosophy was to Petrarch a central concern of his literary activities and *De Remediis* was the tract to sum up and crown his teaching. Here he aimed not so much at glorious heroism but at its modest foundation, sober acceptance of one's bounds. Accordingly, like the classical philosophers, above all the Stoics, he again and again urged the need for self-knowledge, so that the Monk's emphasis on it may be more than merely proverbial. Moreover, in the *Clerk's Tale*, Chaucer has already introduced an instance for comparison. In contrast to *De Remediis* and the *Monk's Tale*, Petrarch's lesson "that every wight, in his degree,/ Sholde be constant in adversitee" is in *Seniles* XVII 3 and the *Clerk's Tale* (1145 f.) not a more or less pagan *ataraxia* but is well integrated into the Christian world-view. None of the pilgrims has therefore objected to the tale of Griselda (on the contrary, Harry applauded it in an earlier version), and in the envoy, the Clerk himself has just playfully contrasted the idealistic exaggeration of Petrarch's Griselda with English fact, the Wife of Bath and "hire secte". The Monk's similar teaching, on the other hand, is ill received. Chaucer

makes it cause rather than calm anxieties, as did Petrarch's *Remedia*, which do not seem to have provided the majority of their early readers with "remedies".

Chaucer culminates his critical questioning by personal allusions to Petrarch. Through his role of moral teacher as also through his literary activities in general — his stylistic refinement, far-reaching studies, hero-worship, fictional correspondence with great ancients ... — Petrarch tried to exalt his own person, and succeeded. He won himself a seat in the pantheon of literature, and in historic reality managed to get crowned with the laurel, which had cost him considerable attendance on the mighty and met with harsh criticism in certain quarters⁵³. In the *Monk's Tale*, then, Chaucer can be said to test the value of Petrarch's most advanced means of self-glorification — revived, radically pagan thought and high style — by experimenting with them through his Monk and making the small mind fail. The Monk's intention and his use of the means even appear to proceed from a dangerous, sinful state of mind — again one which Petrarch was the first to analyze in himself in a new way. While Petrarch was still capable of self-criticism and realized certain dangers in what he was doing, the simple Monk is not. Even if he may, like his "maister", be committed to "venerie" in its oblique meaning, his pseudo-learned worldliness keeps him nevertheless far from real communication and true life.

How Chaucer extends his critical reflections about tragedy into the broader context of the *Canterbury Tales* cannot be studied here. Suffice it to point out a few of the closest parallels, e.g., to start with, his presentation of traditional "remedies" in the concluding *Parson's Tale*. The *Tale of Melibee* and the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, which frame the Monk's performance, are of course among the ones most replete with resonances. In the *Tale of Melibee*, Chaucer-the-pilgrim, in an ornamented prose, the "style clerghial"⁵⁴ most fit for his station, has attempted to teach a primarily secular prudence, which nevertheless rests on Christian faith. Part of this prudence consists in overcoming one's anger and grief and so preventing further evil, and the tale, though not producing at once the corresponding behaviour in Harry, has certainly met with his warm approval and apparently not offended the sensibilities of more delicate minds. Chaucer's playing with highly controversial

⁵³ See E. H. Wilkins, "Die Krönung Petrarca", in *Petrarca*, ed. A. Buck, (Darmstadt 1976), pp. 121-123 and 164-166.

⁵⁴ See D. Bornstein, "Chaucer's *Tale of Melibee* as an Example of the 'Style Clerghial'", *Chaucer Review*, 12 (1978), 236-254.

philosophical notions such as fate, foreknowledge, prescient dreams etc. in the mock-heroic *Nun's Priest's Tale* and the echoes of the *Monk's Tale* have often enough been analyzed⁵⁵. In our context, just the Nun's Priest's final parody of the pattern considered basic to tragedy — the fall from happiness to wretchedness, brought about by Fortune — should be mentioned. Whereas in the *Monk's Tale* Chaucer has shown its formal and philosophical deficiencies in a way that has grated on the nerves of the Knight, not to mention many a later reader, in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* he perverts it good-humouredly. For he gives the "tragedy" an unexpected twist into "comedy", as he did at the end of *Troilus and Criseyde* where he even made a point of his wish "to make in som comedye"⁵⁶. Chauntecleer's fall, which the great lament makes appear final, can after all be "remedied", and in bringing about the reversal not only Chauntecleer's ingenuity and the whole rural community, men and animals alike, play a part, but so does Fortune, who turns out to be a sheer metaphor. Together with Harry, who in an early version is delighted with the tale, generations of readers have felt that the Nun's Priest's ending and the wealth of his whole story are much more suited to capture the fullness of life than either the Monk's tragedies or the Knight's similarly simplistic alternative.

In Chaucer's extreme test, the fashionable tragedy, in whose basic pattern he seems to have realized the embodiment of pagan superstition and philosophy, fails. Though in a high style, the Monk's offerings still do not delight his immediate (i.e. fictional) audience and though closely relating to existential questions and philosophy, they still do not convey a valuable teaching. In other words, in them greatness and woe, "erdestful matere", do not appear to become an object of pleasure and use through "art poetical". However, as an example of Chaucer's critical wit, as a radical experimentation with the most progressive literary and philosophical premises and endeavours of the greatest minds of his century and to a certain degree of himself, the *Monk's Tale* with its context even today may provide both "erdest" and "game".

University of Duisburg
Dept. of English

⁵⁵ See e.g. Delasanta, pp. 117-132 and C. C. Watson, "The Relationship of the *Monk's Tale* and the *Nun's Priest's Tale*", *Studies in Short Fiction*, 1 (1964), 277-288.

⁵⁶ TC V 1788. Chaucer seems to allude to a more widely felt uncertainty about the demarcation between tragedy and comedy, which can be seen from the fact that several works, e.g. *De Casu Caesena*, are called a tragedy in one manuscript and a comedy in another. See Cloetta, I, p. 67.

Iiro KAJANTO and Outi MERISALO

THE 1723 EDITION OF POGGIO BRACCIOLINI'S
*DE VARIETATE FORTUNAE**

I. The background of the edition

Poggio Bracciolini's reputation had somewhat declined during the 16th and 17th centuries. Erasmus' adverse judgement is notorious¹. Neither did G.J. Vossius, another influential scholar, think highly of him². Both had found his *Facetiae* especially objectionable. Partly due to Poggio's diminished fame, his *De varietate fortunae* was little known, too, although the description of the ruins of Rome in Book One and the story of Niccolò de Conti's expedition to India in Book Four had been printed earlier³. Besides, the latter had been translated into several languages⁴. But the work as a whole existed only in manuscripts⁵.

In the early 18th century, Poggio began to attract fresh attention. One initiative came from a Venetian nobleman, G.B. Recanatì, who died in 1735⁶. He edited Poggio's *Historia florentina* in its original Latin in 1715

* The authors are preparing a new edition of *De varietate fortunae*, based upon all existing manuscripts. Part one of the present paper is by Iiro Kajanto, part two by Outi Merisalo.

¹ *Pogius rabula adeo indoctus ut etiam si vacaret obscenitate, tamen indignus esset qui legeretur, adeo autem obscenus ut etiam si doctissimus fuisset, tamen esset a bonis viris reiiciendus*. Quotation in S.I. Camporeale, "Poggio contro Valla", in: *Poggio Bracciolini 1380-1980* (Firenze, 1982), p. 157. Cp. Erasmus, *Ciceronianus*, in: *Ausgewählte Schriften* 7 (1972), p. 240; *Opera Omnia (ASD)* I 2, p. 663.

² *De historicis latinis libri tres* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1629), p. 502sq.

³ For the first printed editions of Poggio see Outi Merisalo, "Le prime edizioni stampate del *de varietate fortunae* di Poggio Bracciolini I", *Arctos* XIX (1985), pp. 81-102; "II", *id.* XX (1986), pp. 101-129.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 84sq.

⁵ In 1679, one Hieronymus Sincerus, who had edited Poggio's *Adversus hypocrisin* (Lugduni; on the title page wrong date, 1579), considered printing *De varietate fortunae* from a manuscript in the Florentine library of Antonio Magliabechi, together with a number of other works by Poggio (*op. cit.*, p. 19), but nothing was heard of this afterwards. Sincerus is otherwise little known.

⁶ Concerning him, see *Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexicon* III (Leipzig, 1750), col. 1946.

and provided it with a biography of Poggio. In his preface, Recanati looked forward to publishing more of Poggio's writings, *quae non sine aliquo literarum detrimento in privatis bibliothecis recondita, atque adeo sepulta marcescunt*. Recanati does not appear to have known about the existence of *De varietate fortunae* as a whole. Among Poggio's works he lists *libellos de situ Indiae* as well as *pulchrum de Varietate fortunae opus... Descriptionem Romanae urbis* (p. xx-xxi), which were the parts of the work existing in print. In 1720, Jacques Lenfant compiled his *Poggiana*, which lent heavily on Recanati⁷. He, however, records "quatre Livres de variations de la fortune dédiés à Nicolas V" (p. 53).

The story of the finding and editing of the manuscript of *De varietate fortunae* is told in the two prefaces to the 1723 edition, by Ioannes (Giovanni) Oliva and Dominicus Georgius (Domenico Giorgi), respectively. According to them, the manuscript, containing *De varietate fortunae* and 57 letters by Poggio, was found by Leonardo Adami, Cardinal Imperiali's librarian, in the private library of another cardinal and friend of letters, Piero Ottoboni⁸. Adami, however, died in January 1719, leaving the work unfinished. Cardinal Imperiali then entrusted the work to Domenico Giorgi. Besides editing the manuscript for publication, he furnished it with factual footnotes⁹. In 1722 the manuscript was taken to Paris by Oliva, where it was published in the following year at the expense of his patron, Cardinal de Rohan¹⁰. Before submitting the text for publication, Oliva consulted two French scholars, Michel Brochard¹¹ and Bernard de la Monnoye¹² on problems concerning obscure passages. They supplied the marginal notes, which deal with textual matters.

But the true story of the edition was more complicated than this. The genesis of the work is fraught with problems. Though we do not know

⁷ Lenfant's negligence and mistakes provoked Recanati to compose a book, in which he corrected no less than 211 passages in Lenfant: *Osservazioni critiche, ed apologetiche sopra il libro del sig. Jacopo Lenfant intitolato Poggiana* (Venezia, 1721).

⁸ *De varietate fortunae* (Paris, 1723), p. xiv and xxi.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. ix. Oliva, a native of Rovigo in the republic of Venice, a priest and man of letters, wrote a number of books, e.g. on classical archeology. Because of his growing fame, he was called to France to take up the post of librarian in the magnificent library of Cardinal de Rohan, obtaining French citizenship; see *Oeuvres diverses de M. L'abbé Oliva, bibliothécaire de M. le Prince Soubise* (Paris, 1758), pp. 1-14. His share in the 1723 edition was probably limited to getting it printed; see *De varietate fortunae*, p. vi and p. xv.

¹¹ Concerning him, see *Dict. biogr. française* 7 (Paris, 1956), p. 387.

¹² He was a poet and a scholar; see *Nouvelle biogr. générale* 29 (Paris, 1859), col. 231sqq.

it for certain, it is possible that the starting-point was Recanati's publishing of Poggio's *Historia florentina*, in 1715, which seems to have rekindled interest in Poggio, especially in his historical writings, to which *De varietate fortunae* was in general thought to belong¹³. Leonardo Adami, a young and promising scholar¹⁴, may have been inspired by Recanati's publication to begin the editing of a manuscript which he had found among the rich collection in Cardinal Ottoboni's famous library¹⁵.

Chr. Heumann, a studious and once well-known German scholar¹⁶, however, suggested that the idea of printing *De varietate fortunae* sprang from him. The review of the 1723 edition in *Acta eruditorum*, 1725, begins as follows:

Editionem hujus operis, nondum antea typis exscripti, occasionem dederunt Nova literaria, A. 1720 una cum hisce Actis eruditorum Lipsiae nostrae edita p. 84sq. Cum enim ibi Collega noster perindustrius, cl. Heumann, codicem hujus operis MS. quem Gottingensis civitatis Archiater, cl. Barnstorff, possidet, haud indiligenter descripsisset, indeque haustam ejus rei mentionem Romani legerent in Bibliotheca Germanica, quae per aliquot annos Gallico sermone edi consuevit, statim Leonardus Adamus, qui alium ejusdem Operis codicem MS. Romae latere in Ottoboniana bibliotheca sciebat, in animum induxit, editione ejus typographica sibi devincire literarum cultores (pp. 220-21).

Despite the anonymity of the review, it was written by Heumann. These introductory words, though possibly by the editor of the journal, cannot have been written without Heumann's assent.

The notice of Heumann's discovery appeared in *Nova litteraria* in 1720¹⁷. *Bibliothèque germanique* recorded Heumann's find in 1721 (p.

¹³ *De varietate fortunae*, pp. xv-xvi.

¹⁴ *Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexicon* I, col. 87: born in 1690, "er schrieb Historiam arcadicam, war auch willens, Libanii Wercke nebst viel noch nicht gedruckten Briefen und Reden desselben; 5 Novellas, die nicht in dem Codice Theodosiano stehen; eine neue Auflage von dem Jornande; eine starcke Sammlung von Inscriptionen; und den anderen Theil von seiner Historia arcadica herauszugeben, starb aber darüber 1719 den 9 Jan."

¹⁵ Contemporary authors eulogized the library and its manuscripts, see C.B. Piazza, *Eusevologio romano ovvero delle opere pie di Roma* (Roma, 1698), pp. cxx-xxi.

¹⁶ *Biogr. universelle ancienne et moderne* 19 (Paris, 1857), p. 322sq. His chief work was *Conspectus rei publicae litterariae*, reprinted several times.

¹⁷ Heumann first refers to A.H. de Sallengre's republishing of Poggio's *Descriptio Romae* in his *Novus thesaurus antiquitatum Romanarum* (Hagae-Comitum, 1716), pp. 502-508, which the editor himself confesses to be *mendosissimam*, and to the compiler of *Poggiana*, Lenfant, who (p. 227) *optat, ut totum illud Poggii De varietate fortunae opus ex Italiae aliquo angulo protrahatur in lucem*. But Heumann was mistaken, for Lenfant's words

189sq.). Because Adami was dead by 1719, it is physically impossible that he could have known about the manuscript found at Göttingen. Moreover, the editor of the periodical already had knowledge of Adami's work. In a note appendix to the item he writes: "M. Adami, Bibliothecaire du Cardinal Imperiali, mort à Rome l'année dernière (1719) a laissé parmi ses papiers un ms. de ce même Traité, qui verra, dit-on, bien tôt le jour. Une collation de ces deux copies pourroit rendre l'édition plus correcte, et plus complète". The truth, then, is the opposite to what Heumann claims. Rather than Adami it was he who may have been inspired by the paper. As will be shown in part 2, Heumann compared the Göttingen manuscript with the 1723 edition, which he — mistakenly — thought to be a faithful copy of Ottob. 2134 upon which it was based.

There is, however, something which in part exculpates Heumann. In his preface, Oliva writes: *a Bibliothecae Germanicae auctore initium ducendum est. Ille enim... nobis significat D. Barnstorffium Gottingensis civitatis Archiatrum, hujus historiae de Varietate Fortunae exemplar habere anno 1450 Florentiae exaratum. Haec autem universa, quae nunc in lucem prodeunt, accepta referenda sunt Eminentissimo Principi Petro Ottobono*, etc. (p. xiii-xiv). This is at best ambiguous. Although he writes that "the beginning" started with the notice in *Bibliothèque germanique*, he does not explicitly state that Adami got the idea from there. I think Oliva was simply careless. He probably did not give sufficient attention to the chronology of the events outlined above.

If Adami, possibly encouraged by Recanati's publication, was thus the first who undertook the editing of *De varietate fortunae*, his exact share in the edition is not quite clear. Oliva and Giorgi give somewhat conflicting information. According to the former, *Adamo autem sublato e vivis, Dominicus Georgius, qui ei successit, extremam huic operi manum non imposuit solum sed etiam... notas adjecit* (p. xiv), whereas Giorgi writes that Adami died *primo libro vix exscripto* (p. xxi). Giorgi's notice, being more precise, may be nearer to the truth, though one could also consider the inveterate habit of not a few writers to give themselves the

refer to Poggio's Sylloge of epigraphs, not to *De varietate fortunae*. Heumann then told his readers that the manuscript of Poggio's *De varietate fortunae* had been found at Göttingen and that its possessor was willing to have it printed, *si quis promittat, se id editurum esse satis accurate satisque nitide*. Heumann subsequently describes the manuscript. Its owner was *vir nobilissimus Georgius Ericus Barnstorffius, quondam Serenissimae ducis Mutinensis (Modena) e domo Hannoverana Medicus... nunc civitatis Gottingensis Archiater* (p. 84-86).

credit for other people's work, too. In the edition itself, there is little to help us to distinguish the respective shares of Adami and Giorgi. The only noteworthy thing is the fact that an orthographical peculiarity repeatedly found in Book One is missing in the others (see p. 79).

The main work in editing the manuscript was no doubt done by Domenico Giorgi. He represented one variety of the intellectual of the age. Born in 1690, he was educated in a Jesuit college and at Padova. Ordained a priest in 1713, and after serving as a secretary, he entered the service of Cardinal Imperiali, who appointed him to the post of librarian vacated by the death of Adami. His learning attracted the notice of the Popes, too, who conferred benefices and pensions upon him, which, after his patron's death in 1737, permitted him to continue his literary pursuits in privacy. He died in 1747¹⁸.

Giorgi is the author of several works, once appreciated but now forgotten. Most of them dealt with ecclesiastical matters, e.g. *De antiquis Italiae metropolibus*, 1722; *Degli abiti sacri del sommo pontefice*, 1724; *De monogrammate Christi*, 1738; *De liturgia Romani pontificis in solemnibus celebratione missarum*, 1731-1744; *Vita Nicolai Quinti pont.*, 1742. But he also had two publications dealing with classical archeology, *Antiquae inscriptionis explanatio in qua de locatoribus scenarum disceptatur*, 1727, which discussed a newly found inscription (*CIL* VI 5819 = 10093). The other relevant work, *Interpretatio veteris monumenti in agro Lanuvino detecti... in quo effigies archigalli antistitis magnae Deum Matris exprimitur*, 1737, describes the finding of the monument, explains the institution of *galli* and *archigalli*, with ample quotations from Roman and later literature, and cites epigraphical evidence, too.

The overview of Giorgi's literary production suggests that he was better qualified to deal with points of historical and archeological interest than with problems of textual criticism. He did not write a single work about *ars critica* or even about grammatical questions. Moreover, he had no experience in editing texts, for the present work was his only achievement in this field.

The footnotes, which are probably almost entirely ascribable to Giorgi, are somewhat variable in quality. In the *Descriptio Romae*, in Book One, his notes are many and often learned, though he naturally falls short of the standards of modern scholarship. In Books Two and

¹⁸ There is a contemporary biography of Giorgi, "Vita di Monsignor Domenico Giorgi descritta da un suo Concittadino della Città di Rovigo", in: *Raccolta d'opuscoli scientifici, e filologici* XLI (Venezia, 1749), pp. 340-59.

Three, which mainly dealt with contemporary history, Giorgi also supplies useful information culled from the literature available to him. But Book Four, the story of Niccolò de Conti's journey to India, has much fewer notes. This is no wonder, for the proper interpretation of the names of places, animals, and plants mentioned in the Book is still a formidable task. The letters have no footnotes, only a number of mostly brief marginal notes. Hence one could attribute them to the French scholars consulted by Oliva in Paris (see p. 72 above). But the preface to the letters seems to suggest that it was Giorgi who had written these marginal notes¹⁹.

The subsequent discussion of the mistakes and shortcomings of the text will show that the edition is far from praiseworthy. But Heumann, who criticized the edition in 1725 and 1726²⁰, did not realize that the weaknesses are imputable to the editors. He put most of them down to the manuscript, Ottob. 2134, which he claimed to be greatly inferior to the one he knew at Göttingen.

II. The differences between the ms. Vat.Ottob.lat. 2134 and the 1723 edition

Introduction

In this section, a general description of the relationship between the original and the edition will be given. We shall try to assess the character of the latter in the light of the editing techniques of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries by listing the different types of divergencies observable in the edition as far as the manuscript text is concerned. A complete list of differences will be found in the definitive critical edition to be published later.

Preliminary remarks

Apart from a few exceptions, the notion of an edition based on an exhaustive *recensio* of manuscripts, and not the *textus receptus* emended with *variae lectiones* from different manuscripts, and conjectures, had

¹⁹ Referring to the castigation of Poggio's Latinity by Valla: *Loca quae Valla reprehendit, in margine adnotavimus. Nonnulla etiam asterisco distinximus, quae minus Latina visa sunt, quo lux major dictioni afferretur*. Unfortunately, we cannot be quite certain that these words were Giorgi's.

²⁰ *Acta eruditorum anno MDCCXXV publicata*, pp. 220-24, and *Poecile sive epistolae miscellaneae ad literatissimos aevi nostri viros*, Tomus II (Halle, 1726), pp. 95-108.

not yet developed at the beginning of the eighteenth century²¹. Adami and Giorgi basing their edition of *De varietate fortunae* on one manuscript only, a decision severely criticised by Heumann²², is thus by no means exceptional for the age. Belief in the reconstruction of the original form of the text by means of reasoning is of course characteristic of the period, the eminent representative of this line of thought being Bentley (1662-1742)²³. The emendatory zeal of editors was criticised by several authors, e.g. J. Le Clerc (1657-1736), who, in spite of being himself something of a rationalist, recommended careful consideration of paleographical evidence and advised against too strong a reliance on the supposed initial perfection of even ancient texts²⁴.

The 1723 edition contains textual changes, none of which, however,

²¹ Interestingly enough, the need for an exhaustive *recensio* was first felt among critics involved in the textual criticism of the New Testament (R. Bentley, J.J. Wettstein): see S. Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann* (Padova, 1981), pp. 22-27. The prefaces of contemporary editions abound in evidence for indifference to a general inspection of all the manuscripts. See e.g. *M. Fabii Quintiliani de institutione oratoria libri duodecim (...) recogniti et emendati per Petrum Burmannum* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1720), esp. f.[***3^v]: *Sed ex bibliothecae Leidensis pluteis protulimus excerpta ex Quintiliano, quorum ope loca quaedam majorum declamationum aliter posse constitui atque hodie leguntur, nullus dubito, sed nobis temporis penuria laborantibus, & Ovidianae majori cum voluptate Musae operantibus, non vacabat haec accuratius excutere.*

²² See especially C.A. Heumanni *Poecile sive epistolae miscellaneae ad literatissimos aevi nostri viros* (Hala, 1726), p. 96: *Sane apparet iam, Codicem Ottobonianum non sufficisse editioni perfectae adornandae (...) Comparatio vero duorum illorum Codicum* (Vat.Ot.tob.lat.2134 and Göttingen UB cod.theol.136) *effectura videtur, ut prodire possit editio omnibus absoluta numeris (...)*. Oliva himself acknowledges the need for a broader textual basis, 'ad lectorem', p.xv: *Ceterum si Ottobonianus codex et Barnstorffianus, aut quisvis alius in promptu hic fuisset, non est dubitandum, quin singula singulis conferentes rectius alicubi Poggii textum sanavissemus.*

²³ See e.g. his 'praefatio', to *Q. Horatius Flaccus, ex recensione et cum notis atque emendationibus Richardi Bentleii editio altera* (Amstelaedami, 1713); *Richardi Bentleii et doctorum virorum Epistolae, partim mutuas ex editione Londinensi Caroli Burneii repetiit (...) et (...) auxit Frid.Traug.Friedemann* (Lipsiae, 1825), e.g. 107 (letter to Graevius, 20 August, 1702); and R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850* (Oxford, 1976), esp. pp. 145-147.

²⁴ *Joannis Clerici Ars Critica, in qua ad studia linguarum Latinae, Graecae, et Hebraicae, via munitur (...) Editio Quarta (...) 2* (Amstelaedami, 1712), p. 121: *Plura autem sine dubio & certius peccata retegerent, & emendarent, si liceret ex forma ipsa Characterum conjecturam facere.* For the second point, see especially p.196: *Critici munus in eo tantum est situm, curare ut emendate legantur quae Veteres scripserunt qualiacumque sint eaque, si ita videatur, castigare; non, ut utilia tantum dixisse videantur, efficere.* It is appropriate to note here that Le Clerc's basically rationalistic way of thought apparently contributed to his not applying his prudent precepts coherently in his own textual criticism (see e.g. *op.cit.*, pp. 38-39). The theoretical value of *Ars critica* is, however, not diminished by this fact. For a good account of the manual, see Pfeiffer, p. 137; Timpanaro, pp. 20-22 and p. 1 n. 1.

are pointed out either in the footnotes by Giorgi — concerning historical events discussed in the text — or in the marginal notes by La Monnoye and Brochard, giving, in addition to conjectures not introduced into the body of the text, only the *variae lectiones* of the 1538 Basle edition (H. Petri) for part of Book One (pp. 5-20 in the 1723 edition). Inserting conjectures into the text without warning was a practice apparently well-spread in the 17th century and violently criticised by e.g. Le Clerc and Bentley²⁵. In the more carefully prepared contemporary editions, among which we might cite Bentley's Horace²⁶, emendations are, however, pointed out in the notes. It can thus be said that the 1723 edition quite definitely does not meet the highest standard of contemporary editing, though it is not exceptional for the period²⁷.

Changes made

N.B. In the following, no exhaustive lists of occurrences are given (cf. above p. 76).

1. Marking of diphthongs. Spelling.

The manuscript does not, in the absolute majority of cases, mark in any way the ancient diphthongs *ae oe*²⁸, except for a few forms with a cedilla, e.g. f.11/p.21 *ęneam* (the cedilla being in the same ink as the text). In the edition, all diphthongs have been written out according to

²⁵ *Ars critica*, p. 10: (on conjectures made by *critici* of the Renaissance): *quae nonnisi inspectis denuo codicibus MSS. hoc et praeteritis saeculis, tolli a viris doctis potuerunt. Sed et horum multi imperitia, aut audacia nimia, qua conjecturas suas, quasi exploratas, lectiones, in Veterum contextum admiserunt, eorum scripta conspurcarunt.* Bentley in the 'praefatio' of his Horace: *ita rursus improbanda est et non ferenda aliorum fiducia, qui clam immutare quicquam & interpolare audent, neque lectorem de ea re vel verbo admonent.*

²⁶ Bentley, of course, represents the high peak of editing. Careful distinction between conjectures and readings of the *textus receptus* (or ms. readings) is, however, by no means exceptional: see e.g. C.A. Heumann in his edition of Lactantius — based on the text of C. Cellarius (*Lucii Caecilii Lactantii Firmiani Opera omnia emendata et illustrata a Christoph. Augusto Heumanno.* (Gottingae, 1736), 'praefatio'); *L. Annaei Senecae Tragodiae Cum Notis integris Johannis Frederici Gronovii (...) Omnia recensuit; Notas, Animadversiones, atque Indicem novum locupletissimumque adjecit (...) Joannes Casparus Schröderus* (Delphis, 1728), f. [**4]: *Neque tamen vel sic in ipso tragoediarum contextu, prout is ab J.F. Gronovio fuerat constitutus, vel mutare quidquam, vel loco movere sustinui; satisque habere decrevi, si, quidquid illud foret, quod prae Florentina auctoritate, in codicibus, quibus utebar, ad meum sensum praegravare videretur, in subjectis notis illico significarem.*

²⁷ See e.g. the Recanati edition of *Historia florentina*: no critical apparatus, no identification of the manuscript used.

²⁸ Poggio's usage is well known thanks to B.L. Ullman, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script*. *Storia e letteratura* 79 (Roma, 1960), p. 53.

contemporary spelling habits. Certain spellings have been silently substituted for original ones in part of the text or throughout: the customary 17th-18th century *literae* for *littere* (except for f.100/p.149); *refertae* for *referctae*; *nihil, mihi* for *nichil, michi*²⁹; *millia* for *milia* and derived forms, *definitam* for *diffinitam*. In Book One and occasionally later, we find *quum* for *cum*; tentatively, this usage might be attributed to Adami who had completed at least the transcription of the first book (see above p. 75)³⁰. In the whole of the text, we find *queis*, for *quis* dative-ablative, a form rather frequent, though not exclusive in contemporary texts³¹. Changes in spelling were probably no exception in contemporary editions³².

2. Textual changes.

2.1. Modifications attributable to linguistic considerations.

Part of the modifications can be explained by functional reasons: (1) correcting obvious mistakes, e.g. f. 8^v *annianus marcellinus* changed into p. 14 *Ammianus Marcellinus*; (2) correcting morphological particularities of the manuscript, e.g. f. 9^v *insulsiter* changed into p. 18 *insulse*; *carcer* characteristically treated in the ms. as a neuter and changed into a masculine form³³; cf. also the 17th-18th century spellings introduced

²⁹ Forms occurring in a few of the *de varietate fortunae* mss. studied at present. Poggio's opinion on the spelling in question is well known; see E. Walser, *Poggio Fiorentinus. Leben und Werke* (Leipzig, 1914), pp. 16-17.

³⁰ We find *quum* for *cum*, as well as the two forms alternating in the same text, in e.g. the *Acta eruditorum* (Lipsiae, 1682-1731). Bentley uses *cum* in his Horace, the spelling of which he claims to conform to that of the Augustan age (see below n. 32).

³¹ See e.g. Olai Borrichii *Cogitationes De Variis Latinae linguae aetatibus* (Hafniae, 1675): *queis* (*passim*); *Acta eruditorum, passim*; *Quinti Horatii Flacci Carmina Nitori Suo Restituta accurante Steph. And. Philippe* (Lutetiae Parisiorum, A.U. Coustelier 1746), p. v.

³² In the *Acta eruditorum* of September 1695, we learn that Arnas Magnaeus in his edition of the medieval *Chronica Danorum, vitiosam scribendi rationem ad hodiernae orthographiae leges emendavit* (p. 432). The case is slightly different, though comparable, for ancient authors; see e.g. Bentley in the preface of his edition of Horace: *Porro autem Orthographiae rationem institui ad Augusti saeculi normam, quae ex Inscriptionibus, Numis, Vetustioribusque Membranis abunde constat, quamque & alii & praesertim Nic. Heinsius in Virgilio suo secutus est.* (...) There seems to be no significant difference between Bentley's *Augusti saeculi norma* and the spelling current at the beginning of the 18th century as practised in e.g. the *Acta eruditorum*, or any of the editions consulted for this study.

³³ Valla criticised Poggio's use of *carcer* neuter in the *Antidotum primum* (A. Wesseling, ed. *Antidotum primum. La prima apologia contro Poggio Bracciolini*. Amsterdam, 1978) p. 92, 41-42: *Sed nescio quomodo eum vel Apollo vel anpulla deseruit ut diceret 'quod carcer' pro 'quem carcerem'.*

into the text (above, p. 79). (3) expurging obvious medievalisms: *extimo* changed into *aestimo* or *existimo* throughout the work.

2.2. Arbitrary changes.

The printed text contains, however, a considerable number of changes and omissions for which such reasons cannot be pointed out. The following categories of apparently arbitrary modifications can be distinguished:

(1) Changes in wording³⁴.

First and foremost, the title of the work has been modified:

Ad Nicolaum Papam Quintum	Poggii Bracciolini Florentini
Poggi Florentini de	historiae de varietate fortunae
varietate fortune incipit	libri primi proemium ad
libri primi proemiu(m)	Nicolaum papam V.

Interestingly enough, the word *historia* does not appear in any manuscript or printed work hitherto come to my notice; chances are that we have here another illustration of the free treatment of manuscript evidence by the editor(s).

f.4 ab Luianio doctissimo
greco auctore

— Luciano

The manuscript reading corresponds to *Liviano* found in e.g. Vat.Urb.lat. 224 and British Library Add. 8799. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the emendation *Luciano* occurs in Bodleian d'Orville 513, a humanist compilation containing works by Petrarch, Filelfo, Prudentius etc. Heumann suggests *Libanio* as the original reading³⁵.

f.35 nil tale timentem

nil tamen timentem

³⁴ For this subsection, we have consulted the following works: *Franc. Sanctii Brocensis (...) Minerva, seu de causis linguae latinae Commentarius, (...) Editio Sexta (...)* (Amstelaedami, 1754); *Gasparis Scioppii, Franci, Grammatica philosophica (...)* (Amstelaedami, 1659); *Latina grammatica (...) in usum scholarum adornata (...) studio atque opera Gerardi Joannis Vossii (...)* (Upsaliae, 1667); G.J. Vossius, *De vitiis sermonis (...)* (Amstelodami, 1645); Borrichius, *Cogitationes* (see above, p. 79 n. 31); *De Latinitate mediae et infimae aetatis liber, sive Antibarbarus, recognitus quartum et pluribus locis auctus a Christophoro Cellario. Editio VII* (Ienae, 1752); *Christophori Cellarii Smalcaldiensis Curae posteriores de barbarismis, et idiotismis sermonis Latini septimum emendatissime editae. (...)* (Ienae, 1745).

³⁵ *Poecile* 2, p. 95. It is to be noted that Poggio was mistaken about the quotation: the author in question was Aelius Aristides (as Prof. Kajanto kindly remarked to me).

The same modification, probably originating in a copying error, that occurs again f.44/p.71 and that is accompanied on p.57 by the marginal note *melius tale*; we have here another illustration of La Monnoye and Brochard's intelligent interpretation of the context.

The number of such modifications is considerable and would alone suffice to discredit the printed text for modern use. Heumann, *Poecile*, pp.95-109, gives a fairly exhaustive list of the *variae lectiones* of Göttingen UB cod.theol.136 (ex-Barnstorffianus), of which most fall into this category. Curiously enough, in spite of rightly assuming that the more obvious omissions (see below) of the printed text were due to the editor(s), he did not extend his criticism to the cases discussed in this subsection.

(2) Additions.

The additions generally consist of a few words; no considerable portions of text have been inserted.

E.g.:

f.9^v a prefecto urbis

p.18 a quodam praefecto urbis

Occasionally marginal notes — not present in the manuscript — seem to have been taken into the text:

f.44 tot viros

p.71 anno 1406 tot viros

f.60 comite veste monaci

p.91 comite, Soldani nomine,
veste monachi

The following passage represents a rare case of multiple modifications:

f.20 Et seneca quoq(ue) in
libro cum providentia mundus
regatur cur mala bonis
accidant

p.33 et Seneca quoque in libro
de Providentia, ubi quaeritur,
quid ita, si providentia mundus
agatur, multa bonis viris
accidant

The reading of Vat.Ott.lat.2134 is found in the most important mss. hitherto studied (Vat.Urb.lat.224, Bodl.Canon.Misc.557, Bernkastel-Kues Bibl.Hosp.157). The printed text probably contains an extensive emendation.

(3) Changes in word order.

A particular category of modifications are the numerous cases where

the word order of the edition differs from that of the ms. Rhythmical reasons are hard to find; it is possible that even here we have simply instances of sloppy copying, e.g.

f.35 ^v tandem regnum	p.58 regnum tandem
f.38 ^v Urbani pontificis quinti	p.62 Urbani V. Pontificis

(4) Omissions.

The scale of omissions extends from dropping single words to omitting whole sentences. Generally, it seems difficult to find unambiguous evidence for Heumann's hypothesis according to which passages critical of the Pope would have been eliminated³⁶. Most of the omissions can be explained by sloppy copying (skipping lines in the ms. etc.), e.g.

f.64 ^v paulo post: nam huius rei fama totum orientem p(er)vaserat et legenti (<i>sic</i>)	p.99 paulo post et Legati
f.81 ^v sita est. Rex eius provincie potentissimus: hinc adverso	p.127 sita est: hinc adverso
f.98 ^v extimatur. Que v(er)o de phenice feru(n)tur queq(ue) ab Lactantio scribuntur versibus haud fabulosa videtur esse. In finibus	p.147 aestimatur. In finibus

In this passage, *extimatur* and *In finibus* occupy the same position on their respective lines, which might explain the omission of almost two lines between them. The manuscript tradition hitherto studied does not give any support to the reading of the printed text.

Often no mechanical reason can be pointed out, e.g. in

f.68 ^v pro Florentinis iam enim cum Venetis fedus inierant arma capiendi	p.104 pro Florentinis arma capiendi
---	--

³⁶ *Quaquam licebit mihi suspicari, editorem haec de industria omisisse, Romanis quippe Papis haud gloriosa. Idem et tibi suspicari, credo, licebit de aliis locis, quos illico proferam. Ac sane in sequentibus libris plura occurrunt famam Pontificum laedentia: quae mihi videtur causa esse, cur non Romae, sed Lutetiae emissum hoc opus fuerit* (Poecile, p. 98, on p. 50, line 17).

The following case is particularly interesting:

f.79 vigesimo primo.
Utcunq(ue) tamen perierit
defendus certe talis viri
casus. Ad quadraginta

p.119 vigesimo primo. Ad
quadraginta

Utcunque starts a new paragraph in the ms., and it is difficult to find any simple mechanical reason for this case. On the other hand, the phrase missing in the printed text is echoed in the note (a) on p. 119, on Giuliano Cardinal Cesarini, and thus no intentional dropping seems probable.

In fact, it is only in two cases that the printed text might seem to give some support to Heumann's hypothesis:

(1) f.32/p.50 sed subsidia ab omnibus denegata pontificibus non adversus infideles sed contra fideles pugnare assuetis. Regibus v(er)o remis-
sis ad gloriam ac suo bello occupatis (...)

From *pontificibus* onwards the passage is missing. Here it might not seem unreasonable to give some credit to Heumann, the omitted passage being no doubt very critical of both the Pope and the kings. However, in the very nearhood of this passage we find the following omission, attributable to mere sloppiness:

f.32/p.51 dato stipendio contractis regnum tutari statuit

with the last three words missing in the printed text, accompanied by a note in the margin (by La Monnoye and Brochard): *Deest, se ad defensionem parat, aut aliquid simile* (cf. f.35/p.57, above p. 81). The possibility of the omission only being another instance of sloppy copying thus cannot be excluded.

(2) f.34 Urbanus pontifex
(i.e. Urban VI): cuius
stultitia ne dicam furore
scisma tunc

p.56 Urbanus Pontifex sub quo
schisma tunc

In a footnote, Giorgi defends the pope: *Pogius (...) nimia dicendi libertate eum Pontificem carpere videtur*. Here, Heumann's hypothesis might indeed be founded, though even in this case the evidence can hardly be considered to be conclusive.

Conclusion

In the preceding subsections I hope to have adequately described the

1723 edition of *De varietate fortunae*. The printed text was based on a transcription, due to at least two people (L. Adami and D. Giorgi), apparently not carefully collated with the manuscript. The 1723 text contains considerable modifications none of which have been pointed out in the notes. A second phase of emendation produced the marginal notes of La Monnoye and Brochard. Even by the standards of the period, as exemplified by such editors as Bentley or Heumann, the editing practices of Giorgi, who must probably be held responsible for the text given over to Oliva for publication (Adami's contribution being somewhat difficult to define exactly) seem insufficient. The differences between the manuscript and the printed text can in most cases be explained away as either editorial corrections of forms considered to be faulty, or simply as instances of sloppy copying. Heumann's hypothesis according to which passages critical of the Pope would intentionally have been omitted still remains to be proved.

It goes without saying that the 1723 text cannot be considered to be a critical edition in modern terms, and should only be used with extreme care in case direct consultation of one of the better manuscripts (Vat. Urb.lat.224 or Bodl.Canon.Misc.557) is not possible.

University of Helsinki

Marc DYKMANS S.J.

LA "VITA POMPONIANA" DE VIRGILE

Virgile mourut l'an 19 avant notre ère. Suétone lui consacra un siècle plus tard un chapitre de son livre *De poetis*, qui est perdu. Mais la *Vita* a été conservée en substance, peut-on dire, dans celle écrite par le célèbre grammairien du IV^e siècle, Donat. Celle-ci a été éditée, notamment d'après dix manuscrits par Jacobus Brummer en 1912, et d'après à peu près les mêmes, par C. Hardie en 1957¹.

Or ce texte a été interpolé et complété vers 1425 par un humaniste. Il a laissé un *Donatus Auctus*, dont Sabbadini en 1907 a donné une édition sous le nom de Rédaction humanistique². L'éditeur des *Inscriptiones latinae*, Ernst Diehl, fit de même en 1911 dans les *Kleine Texte* de Lietzmann³, d'une façon plus pratique, mais sur les mêmes bases philologiques. C'est-à-dire surtout quatre manuscrits du XV^e siècle⁴ et une édition imprimée à Venise en 1471⁵. Cette Vie a été reprise dans disons cent éditions du Corpus virgilien, avec de menues variantes. Ne pouvant les vérifier toutes⁶ — elles sont d'ailleurs extrêmement rares, —

¹ *Vitae Vergilianae*, éd. J. Brummer (Lipsiae 1912), pp. 1-38: *Vergilii vita Donatiana*; et C. Hardie, *Vitae Vergilianae antiquae* [ajoutées à l'*Appendix Vergiliana* de R. Ellis], (Oxford 1957), pp. 1-14; *Vita Donati*. Renvoyons aussi à sa bibliographie de 1957, aux pp. xxiv-xxvi.

² R. Sabbadini, "Le biografie di Vergilio antiche medievali umanistiche", *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 15(1907), 197-261; le texte aux pp. 204-214, où des traits verticaux remplacent les mots anciens à retrouver dans l'édition A. Reifferscheid, *C. Suetonii Tranquilli... Reliquiae* (Lipsiae 1860), pp. 54-67.

³ Sous le titre *Die Vitae Vergilianae und ihre antiken Quellen*, *Kleine Texte...*, 72 (Bonn 1911).

⁴ Un de Florence, un de Milan, un du Vatican, un de Berne. Le même texte, d'après le ms. d'Oxford, Bodl. Can. lat. 61, ff. 2^r-6^v, a été imprimé par K. Bayer, dans ses *Vergil-Viten*, jointes au *Vergil. Landleben. Bucolica. Georgica. Catalepton... Lateinisch und deutsch* (Würzburg 1970), pp. 350-371.

⁵ En tête de la seconde édition du *Commentaire* de Servius, chez Christophe Valdarfer.

⁶ Voir *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche italiane* (répertoire cité plus loin IGI), n° 10132 à 10191, et pour les "cinquecentine", presque chaque année plusieurs fois, signalées en partie, et sans mention de la *Vita*, dans G. Mambelli, *Gli annali delle edizioni Virgiliane*, Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 27 (Firenze 1954).

nous l'avons fait dans l'incunable de 1497, à la Bibliothèque Vaticane⁷, et pour le XVI^e siècle, et l'an 1515, dans l'édition de Josse Bade, publiée à Venise *in aedibus Paganinis*, et de même, à l'Université Grégorienne, dans la juntine de 1552, qui reproduit les bois alsaciens et probablement aussi le texte imprimé par Jean Grüninger à Strasbourg en 1502⁸.

Il y eut, dit Vladimir Zabughin, d'innombrables autres vies dues aux humanistes du XV^e siècle⁹. Il n'en donne malheureusement pas la liste. Dans les 76 *codices* des commentaires sur Virgile répertoriés par Funaioli¹⁰, il y a, dit son critique Albert Grisart, treize manuscrits de la rédaction humanistique de Donat¹¹. Nous n'avons pu les examiner, mais nous voulons ici publier une nouvelle vie humanistique.

Elle reprend un autre auteur classique, le grammairien de la fin du premier siècle Valère Probus, ou du moins un texte remontant en partie à lui, et qu'on appelle le pseudo-Probus. Ce texte cru ancien, ou cette petite vie, *Vita Probiana*, plus ou moins classique, est conservé par des manuscrits du XV^e siècle¹², et par deux impressions, l'une de 1471, en

⁷ Cote: Inc. II 172, la Vie au cahier a, ff. (4)ʹ-(5)ʹ. Cet incunable, COPINGER 6077, est inconnu aux IGI, Venise, 20 février 1497.

⁸ L'édition de Bade (cote: R.G. Class. II 263), n'a pas été vue par P. Renouard, *Bibliographie... de Josse Badius...*, t. I (Paris 1908); Essling (R. Masséna prince d'), *Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XV^e et du commencement du XVI^e*, 1^e partie, t. I (Paris 1907), la décrit, p. 65 n° 10 (et p. 64 n° 58). La juntine de la Grégorienne (Ris. 806 D I), est incomplète de quelques feuillets, moins que ceux manquant à l'exemplaire du cardinal Mercati, passé à la Vaticane (R.G. Class. II 120). La Bibliothèque Nationale de Rome a seule un exemplaire complet. L'édition de 1502 est décrite par C. Schmidt, *Répertoire bibliographique strasbourgeois...*, I (Strasbourg 1894), pp. 26-27. ESSLING en tire 4 gravures, t. I, pp. 72-76.

⁹ V. Zabughin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento italiano da Dante a Torquato Tasso...*, I (Bologna 1921), p. 149: "i quattrocenteschi hanno intessuto le loro innumerevoli biografie vergiliane".

¹⁰ G. Funaioli, *Esegesi Virgiliana antica...* Pubblicazioni della Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore, sez. 4, 9 (Milano 1930), pp. 8-36.

¹¹ A. Grisart, "Vitae Vergilianae. Les remaniements de la *Vita* de Donat", *L'Antiquité classique*, 34 (1934), 103 n. 2. On les trouve dans Funaioli, cité à la note précédente, aux n° 13, 25, 27, 28, 39, 43, 48, 65, et peut-être 57-59, 74, 76. Mentionnons celle de Sicco Polenton, dans ses *Scriptorum illustrium latinae linguae libri XVIII*, achevés en 1437. Elle est publiée à la suite de la première, dans l'article de Sabbadini déjà cité n. 2. Cf. éd. B.L. Ullman (Rome 1928), pp. 75-90.

¹² Seul le ms. Vat. lat. 7179 est peut-être du XVI^e siècle, mais ses 14 ff. de papier ont un filigrane assez exactement identique à Briquet 13883, signalé en 1499. Rappelons les autres manuscrits: Vat. lat. 2930; Paris BN. lat. 8209; Munich clm. 755. Les fac-similés du charmant livre de E.K. Rand, *In quest of Virgil's Birthplace* (Cambridge, Mass. 1930), sont à mettre dans l'ordre chronologique: l'édition de 1471, p. 166; le Vat. lat. 2930 ou V, p. 131; Paris 8209 ou P, p. 130; Munich 755 ou M, autographe de Ricci ou Crinito, p. 132; l'édition de 1507, p. 133. Le grand Egnazio, selon G. Mercati, "A proposito del commentario di Probo a Virgilio", *Rendiconti della pontificia Accad. rom. di archeologia*, 8 (1931-1932), 24-28, ou *Opere minori*, IV (1937), pp. 430-36, n'a nullement usé d'un dérivé

tête de la seconde édition du Virgile de Rome¹³, et l'autre dans l'édition vénitienne de 1507¹⁴, reproduite dans celle d'Oxford.

On en a donné récemment une édition critique et savante, dont nous n'avons que grand bien à dire¹⁵, mais que nous voulons compléter. Car,

de Bobbio. D'après Mercati et Sabbadini, le P est un autographe de Leto. Nous ne croyons pas qu'il soit de sa main, voyant 18 fois au fac-similé une abréviation (demi-cercle entre deux traits) qu'ignore le Vat. lat. 3394, aux ff. 35'-42', que Muzzioli admet comme autographes. P est d'ailleurs plus tardif que V, comme l'a bien prouvé Sabbadini. — De cette *Vita Probiana*, nous citerons volontiers l'édition C. Hardie (cf. n. 1), faite d'après les collations de F. M. Wheelock.

¹³ Le texte avait été procuré à l'évêque d'Aleria par Leto lui-même: "Il Bussi si servi per la sua edizione di una copia da Pomponio Leto" (L. Agnès, "Sull'autenticità della '*Vita Vergilii*' di Probo", *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica*, 69 [1941], 171). Cette édition princeps se trouve dans l'incunable IGI 10180, ff. (3)⁴-(4)⁴. Nous en donnons ici le texte entier. La ponctuation est modernisée:

Virgilius Maro natus idibus octobribus Crasso et Pompeio consulibus, matre Magia Polla, patre Virgilio Rustico, vico Andico, qui abest a Mantua milia passuum xxx, tenui facultate nutritus. Sed cum iam summis eloquentiae doctoribus vacaret, in belli civilis tempora incidit, quod Augustus adversus Antonium gessit; primumque bellum veteranis post Mutinense. Postea restitutus beneficio Alpheni Vari, Asinii Polionis et Cornelii Galli, quibus in Bucolicis adulatur. Deinde per gratiam Mecenatis in amiciciam Caesaris ductus est. Vixit pluribus annis liberali in ocio, secutus Epicuri sectam. Insigni concordia et familiaritate usus Quintilii Tuce et Vari. Scripsit Bucolica annos natus octo et viginti, Theocritum secutus; Georgica, Hesiodum et Varronem. Eneida ingressus bello Cantabrico, hoc quoque ingenti industria, ab Augusto usque ad sestertium centies honestatus est. Decessit in Calabria annum agens quinquagesimum et primum, heredibus Augusto et Moecenate, cum Procule minore fratre. Cuius sepulchro quod est in via Puteolana hoc legitur epigramma:

Mantua me genuit. Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc

Parthenope. Cecini pascua, poma, duces.

Aeneis servata est ab Augusto, quamvis ipse testamento damnat, ne quid eorum que non edidisset extaret. Quod Servius Varus hoc testatur epigrammate:

Iusserat hec rapidis abolere carmina flammis

Vergilius Phrygium que cecinere duces

Tucca vetat, Varusque simul. Tu maxime Cesar

Non tibi, sed Latie consulis historie.

On citera ici, d'après l'édition M. Miglio, dans G.A. Bussi, *Prefazioni alle edizioni di Sweeney e Pannartz...*, (Milano 1978), p. 43, la dernière phrase de la lettre de Leto à l'évêque d'Aleria: "Vitam item divini vatis brevissime scriptam et nonnullos summarior operis versiculos, eos quoque qui Hortuli nomine inscribuntur, quae ego omnia, diligentia tua ut debui mirum in modum oblectatus, adscribi huic novae impressioni curavi..."

¹⁴ Un exemplaire de cette édition d'Egnazio se trouve à Rome, Bibliothèque Vittorio Emanuele, 37.47 A 28. On l'a, complétée par la préface des *Bucoliques*, avec V P M, dans l'*Appendix Serviana*, de H. Hagen, *Probi qui dicitur commentarius in Verg. Bucolica et Georgica* (Leipzig 1902), pp. 323-329.

¹⁵ L. Lehnus, "Verso una nuova edizione del commento virgiliano attribuito a Probo; La '*vita Vergilii*'", *Scripta philologica*, III (1982), 179-211. Pour restituer le texte antique de Probus, l'éditeur cite même, aux pp. 192-193, les variantes des manuscrits humanistiques que nous étudierons pour leur intérêt propre.

aussi bien que Sabbadini et Diehl ont trouvé bon de republier le *Donatus Auctus*, nous croyons qu'il aura quelque intérêt à publier pour la première fois une autre vie humanistique. Plus exactement nous voulons étudier la Vie de Virgile attribuée à Pomponio Leto et les remaniements que nous en connaissons.

A. Le texte primitif

Nous devons présenter d'abord les deux manuscrits qui le contiennent. S'agit-il d'un texte de Leto ou de quelqu'un de ses élèves ou d'un texte plus ancien? Nous ne pouvons le dire d'avance.

I. Le manuscrit Vatican latin 3255

Ce manuscrit est un recueil factice assez luxueux sur Virgile. On s'en est beaucoup occupé¹⁶. Nous ne retiendrons que les éléments nécessaires à notre exposé.

Sous une reliure en cuir rouge aux armes de Pie IX et du cardinal Mai¹⁷, ce petit codex de parchemin de 178 mm. de haut et 118 de large contient après deux feuillets de couverture plus épaisse, marqués I et II, et avant deux gardes finales inscrites 101-102, une centaine de feuillets très fins écrits avec grand soin. Il y a 10 quinternions, dont les premiers feuillets sont marqués au bas de 1 à 5. La plupart des cahiers ont une réclame.

Le petit volume contient des œuvres de Virgile, à commencer par les *Géorgiques*, avec des commentaires marginaux, puis des vers sur le poète mantouan.

L'écriture principale est, pensons-nous, d'une seule main, mais de format divers. Les textes sont en une humanistique posée, les encadrements des marges sont en cursive plus petite et parfois minuscule¹⁸.

¹⁶ Sur ce manuscrit et ses pareils, on verra ZABUGHIN, *Giulio Pomponio Leto...*, II (Grottaferrata 1910-1912), pp. 61-71, planches V-VI, et pp. 289-296, n. 351-411; et *Vergilio nel Rinascimento italiano...*, I (Bologna 1921), pp. 160-161 et 218-221, n. 87-103; 189-93, et pp. 209-211, n. 26 à 57. L'édition de Petrograd, 1914, a imprimé les textes latins auxquels il est souvent renvoyé. Après cet ouvrage on consultera surtout M. Buonocore, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana 1968-1980*, t. 2 (Vatican 1986; Studi e Testi 319), pp. 1104-1105..

¹⁷ Angelo Mai fut bibliothécaire de la Vaticane en 1853 et 1854. Les circonstances de sa première nomination romaine ont été élucidées récemment par J. Ruyschaert, "La nomina di Angelo Mai...", *Bergomum*, 77 (1983), 175-301 et 79 (1985), 225-228.

¹⁸ Minuscule dans les interlignes du texte et microscopiques dans ceux des marges. Les

On s'est demandé quel est le scribe.

La première réponse se lit au f. II^r: "Georgica Vergilii, et alia opuscula / de mano di Pomponio Leto in 8° in / pergam./ Ful<vio> Ors<ini>". De même à l'Inventaire de la salle Barberini (volume à étiquette rouge 304, au n° 3255): "Scriptus a Pomponio Laeto"¹⁹.

Une seconde réponse est celle de Zabughin. Il reconnaît la main de Pomponio mais seulement à quelques notes marginales des premiers feuillets²⁰, mais dans son ensemble, pense-t-il, cette délicieuse écriture est trop fine et trop élégante pour n'être pas celle d'une femme²¹, et d'une femme savante, la charmante Nigella, fille de Pomponio²², si ce n'est pas plutôt, et du moins dans les marges, celle du gendre du même grand humaniste, l'époux de Nigella, Lelio Antonio Augusto, dont le rébus du f. 3^v nous donne le prénom²³.

On lit une réponse indirecte, et ne parlant pas du gendre, dans un article qui cite simplement: "Un 'Virgile' copié par le pomponien Lelio Antonio Augusto entre 1473 et 1484"²⁴.

Une dernière réponse est indiquée, sans prendre parti, par P. Scarcia Piacentini, dans ses "Note" des *Chiavi della Memoria*²⁵. Ne faut-il pas

commentaires se suivent tandis que les encres diffèrent pour obtenir plus de clarté et un effet décoratif. Elles sont marron clair ou pâle comme le texte, ou carmin ou rose plus ou moins foncé, ou verdâtre, jaune ou orange. Une description du contenu figure dans P. de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris 1887), p. 199.

¹⁹ Le volume de Nolhac, cité note précédente, admet cette indication. Sa planche I, n° 3, donne un soi-disant fac-similé de l'écriture de Pomponio Leto. Il est pris au f. 11^r.

²⁰ Dans son premier article, d'ailleurs fondamental, "L'insegnamento universitario di Pomponio Leto", *Rivista d'Italia* (1906), 235. Ce point n'est évidemment pas retenu par G. Muzzioli, "Due nuovi codici autografi di Pomponio Leto", *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 2 (1959), 337-351.

²¹ "L'insegnamento...", pp. 234-236 et *Giulio Pomponio Leto*, I, pp. 207-209, pl. VIII, face à la p. 208, écriture très différente de celle du 3255; et II, pp. 66-69 avec les pl. V, f. 1^r, et VI, f. 3^v du 3255. Un regard suffit sur la pl. V, est-il écrit p. 69, pour reconnaître une annotation de Leto.

²² A-t-elle jamais existé? Il est bien vrai que l'incunable de Valla, de Sienne, 1487, relié avec le ms. Vat. Reg. lat. 1818, a une centaine de N° (Nota!).

²³ Nous ne croyons pas que les notes noires furent d'une autre main (comme dit Zabughin, II, p. 291, n. 381).

²⁴ J. Ruysschaert, "Les miniaturistes 'romains' à Naples", au *Supplemento*, I, de T. De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona* (Vérone 1969), p. 269, avec la note: "Voir V. Zabughin... et G. Muzzioli..." La date donnée sera examinée plus loin. Quant à l'écriture, elle n'est pas celle du ms. Vat. lat. 5337 qu'Antonio a signé de sa main en 1504, au f. 19^r.

²⁵ "Note storico-paleografiche in margine all'Accademia romana", dans *Le Chiavi della Memoria. Miscellanea in occasione del I centenario della Scuola Vaticana di paleografia diplomatica e archivistica*, Littera antiqua, 4, (Città del Vaticano 1984), p. 537, n. 89.

lire le même rébus, non à gauche, mais à droite du f. 3^v, sous le texte de Virgile: P. AEMI, c'est-à-dire Paul-Émile Boccabella? Pour celui-ci l'article du *Dizionario*, sans s'occuper de l'écriture, voudrait jeter un doute. Il fait remarquer qu'il y a un autre Paul-Émile, l'historien qui fut à Rome jusqu'en 1499²⁶. Mais on a un autre manuscrit de la même écriture, et avec diverses allusions à Boccabella, le ms. Angelica 1721. Nous admettrons au moins provisoirement que Boccabella fut le scribe²⁷.

L'autre question est la date du manuscrit. Celle-ci doit se tirer d'une note ou deux du commentaire. Celui-ci est bien de Leto, comme le dit déjà l'Inventaire de la Vaticane: "cum scholiis Pomponii Laeti", et comme prouve la comparaison avec ses éditions postérieures, celle préparée à l'insu de l'auteur par Daniel Gaetani à Brescia dès 1486, et celle corrigée par Oporino à Bâle, en 1544, mais il est ici dans un état antérieur. À sa copie des *Dictata* il arrive que le scribe ajoute une note personnelle. Ainsi lit-on au f. 2^v, à propos d'animaux du Pont-Euxin: "De his amplius scribit Pomponius noster, qui nuper e Scythia ad nos rediit, et ea vidit". Autre souvenir au f. 31^r: "Qui vidit mare Ponticum glaciale Pomponius noster novit, et pene periculum vite accepit". Le 'nuper' signifie récemment, et l'auteur lui-même emploie le même adverbe dans son commentaire des *Géorgiques*, sur son voyage de Russie: "Accepimus nuper in Scythia homines..."²⁸. Or il revint de Moscou au printemps de 1473²⁹. La date ne saurait être mieux précisée. Pour la retarder jusqu'en 1484, Zabughin use de deux arguments³⁰. C'est après mai de cette année et la mise à sac de sa maison par le gouverneur Vianesio Albergati, que les élèves ou amis de Leto purent lui offrir des manuscrits comme celui-ci; mais cela put arriver aussi dix ans

²⁶ G. Ballistreri, "Boccabella, Paolo Emilio", au *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, (Roma 1968), col. 827-28. Le ms. Angelica 1721, dont on va parler à l'instant, n'est pas nommé.

²⁷ Nous nous contentons de la solution la plus vraisemblable, bien qu'on puisse douter par exemple de l'identité de scribe entre texte et marges.

²⁸ Pomponio Leto, *In Georgica* (2, 454) *commentarius*, éd. de Brescia, 1487, cahier H, f. (6); ou de Bâle, 1544, p. 159: "Pli. Accepimus nuper in Scythia homines aqua inebriari ubi est melicratum; optimus potus": Les Russes s'enivrent d'hydromel; c'est une boisson excellente. Pline en parle, *N.H.*. 14.113. Il a *hydromeli* au lieu de *melicratum*, dont Ducange parle sous *Medo*.

²⁹ G. Mercati, *Per la cronologia... di Niccolò Perotti...*, Studi e testi, 44, (Roma 1925), pp. 82-83: "forse al principio della primavera"; p. 94: "in quella primavera: il Leto solo allora poté essere di ritorno dalla Russia".

³⁰ *Giulio Pomponio Leto...*, II (Grottaferrata 1910-1912), pp. 68-69.

plus tôt, dit Zabughin lui-même, et nous ajouterons que ce n'est là qu'une hypothèse, et que rien ne prouve que ce manuscrit fut du nombre. En second lieu, le commentaire cite beaucoup Théophraste, d'après la traduction de Théodore Gaza, et la prend, semble-t-il, dans l'incunable de Trévise de 1483. On doit observer qu'il put aussi bien user d'un manuscrit tel que l'Urbinate latin 250 copié sur l'original offert par Théodore Gaza à Nicolas V. Il est clair en effet que Leto employa non seulement des incunables mais aussi des manuscrits, comme d'abord son Probus si souvent cité, et beaucoup d'autres. Sans vouloir donner ce résultat comme définitif, nous garderons donc comme la plus probable la date de peu après le printemps de 1473. Elle importe à notre texte de la *Vita*, dont nous devons maintenant éditer le texte, mais après avoir comparé un second manuscrit.

II. Le manuscrit d'Oxford: Bodleian, Can. Class. lat. 54

Le prêtre vénitien, ancien jésuite, Matteo Luigi Canonici³¹, sut joindre à sa grande collection (2000 imprimés rares, 3000 bibles, 4000 manuscrits), un exemplaire du commentaire complet de Pomponio Leto sur Virgile. Cette copie est transcrite non par le président de l'Académie lui-même, comme l'avait cru Zabughin en 1917, mais par un 'pomponien', d'une main semblable à celle du maître³². Elle a conservé, après les *Opera minora*, les "interprétations" des *Bucoliques*, des *Géorgiques* et de l'*Énéide*. Celle-ci est précédée de la *Vita* sans titre, aux ff. 176^r-177^r. La brève biographie est suivie d'une phrase annonçant le commentaire: "Nos ad Ceciliï imitationem" — l'auteur veut imiter l'enseignement donné aux adolescents par Cecilius l'Épirote, dont il vient de parler — "remotissimi a nostro seculo Virgilii ingenium inspecturi", notre regard fixé sur le génie de ce Virgile si lointain de notre temps, "antiquos imitabimur", nous imiterons les anciens, "et incipiemus ab eo opere

³¹ Voir N. Vianello, article Canonici, M. L., au t. 18 *Dizionario...* (Roma 1970), pp. 167-170.

³² V. Zabughin, "L'umanesimo nella storia della scienza", *L'Arcadia. Atti dell'Accademia...*, 1918, III (Rome 1920), 136-138. Pour se convaincre de son erreur, voir la photographie d'un extrait suffisant dans R.W. Hunt, etc., *The Survival of Ancient Literature...* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1975), p. 14. Ce précieux catalogue ne nous était pas accessible. Nous remercions Miss C. M. Starks qui eut l'amabilité de nous envoyer une xérogaphie. L'écriture est proche de celle de Leto, ne fût-ce que par les g onciaux qu'elle emploie parfois, mais elle s'en distingue déjà par ses g habituels qui ont un trait oblique vers la droite et guère de boucle inférieure.

quod inscribitur Eneis", et nous commencerons par l'œuvre intitulée l'*Énéide*...³³

On voit que la Vie est mise à dessein au début du commentaire. Elle présente des changements par rapport au manuscrit précédent. Nous les mettrons en apparat. Nous prévenons que cet appareil, bien que mis en petit caractère, ne doit pas empêcher de prendre son texte, en certaines parties, comme original. Nous pensons qu'on doit attribuer les additions à Leto lui-même. Les menues variantes, que nous relevons sans exception, peuvent venir du copiste, de même que les fautes, *Damphnitis* pour *Daphnidis*, *vetustate* pour *vetustatem*, *monasticon* pour *monostichon*.

On verra dans les manuscrits suivants que les adjonctions seront souvent reprises, bien qu'ils aient tous d'autres remaniements. Par rapport à eux, nous considérerons les deux premiers manuscrits comme primitifs. La 'petite' Vie de Virgile est donnée dans le second selon la dernière volonté connue de l'auteur.

On donnera maintenant le texte du ms. Vat. lat. 3255, aux ff. 76^v-78^r, avec en apparat les variantes d'Oxford.

Nous examinerons en note les diverses sources. Il en est une, la *Vita Probiana* elle-même, que nous indiquerons en mettant en italique les emprunts qui lui sont faits aux numéros 1, 3, 4, 8, 10, 12-14 et 19. Un emprunt à Probus non littéral, mais certain, sera signalé à la note 47. Les auteurs classiques auxquels il est fait appel seront indiqués soit par des guillemets ou par des notes. Il s'agira de Priscien, n° 1, Suétone, n°s 2 et 20, Donat (et saint Jérôme), n°s 3, 7, 9, 11 à 15, Asconius, n° 6, Servius, n° 8, Tacite, n° 10, Pline l'Ancien, n°s 16 et 19, Quintilien, n°s 17 et 18. L'auteur ne veut donc guère puiser dans les textes, qu'il connaît évidemment, du moyen âge et des humanistes ses prédécesseurs.

Nous verrons de même dans l'appareil réservé au manuscrit d'Oxford qu'il est recouru à Donat au n° 9, sur le dernier fils de Virgile, mort à vingt ans. Le poète le pleurerait aux *Bucoliques* sous le nom de Daphnis³⁴. Cet emprunt paraît malheureux. Aux *Églogues* 5, 7 et 8, le pâtre

³³ Ce plan d'un commentaire débutant par l'*Énéide* ne semble pas avoir été suivi ailleurs. Daniel Gaitano toutefois, après sa préface de 1486, mettra l'*Énéide* en tête, et ses deux imprimés de Brescia semblent lui avoir donné la première place, malgré la date énigmatique, lue depuis Hain comme de 1490, mais qui pouvait aussi bien précéder celle des autres commentaires marqués de 1487. C'est là un point sur lequel on peut discuter, A. Lunelli, "Daniele Gaetani...", dans *Umanesimo e Rinascimento a Firenze e Venezia, Miscellanea...* Vittore Branca, II (Firenze 1983), p. 494 et n. 51, mettra les deux volumes en 1490.

³⁴ *Vita Donatiana*, éd. Brummer, pp. 3-4: "Flaccum iam adultum, cuius exitum sub nomine Daphnidis deflet".

divinisé que Leto refuse de prendre pour César, à la suite de Servius³⁵, ne peut, selon aucun commentaire moderne, s'identifier avec ce jeune homme. L'addition au n° 16: *et prope divinus* a peut-être son origine dans Macrobe décrivant des pressentiments de l'esprit divin de Virgile: *divino ingenio praevidisse*³⁶.

*
* * *

IUL. POMPONII DE VITA P.³⁷ VIRGILII MARONIS SUCCINCTA COLLECTIO

1. P. *Virgilius Maro natus idibus octobribus*, M. Licinio Crasso et CN. Pompeio Magno cons. patre Virgilio rustico, matre Magia Polla, vico Andico, qui abest a Mantua pass. mill. xxx³⁸, tenui facultate nutritus, puer Cremonae degit, in extrema pueritia Mediolani³⁹ sub Grillo grammatico⁴⁰.

2. Post Actiacam victoriam agrum amisit⁴¹. Nam volente Augusto veterani Cremonensium et Mantuanorum agros inter se divisere⁴².

Titulo omisso, ad 1. P.: (P)ublius octobribus: octobris CN.: Gn.

³⁵ Servii Comm. in Verg. Buc. 5, 20, 34, 54, éd. G. Thilo, III, 1 (Leipzig 1887), pp. 56-60.

³⁶ Sat. 5, l. 18, éd. J. Willis, I (Leipzig 1970), p. 243.

³⁷ Pour les abréviations ici conservées, on les trouve dans le *De <regulis> iuris notarum* de Valère Probus (*De arte grammatica*, éd. H. Keil, dans les *Grammatici latini*, IV [Lipsiae 1864], p. 271): 1. P.: Publius; 2. C.: Gaius; 3. M.: Marcus; 4. CN.: Gnaeus; 5. Q.: Quintus. Répétons qu'on a mis en italique les mots empruntés à la *Vita Probiana*. Les autres emprunts sont indiqués entre guillemets et en note. Au 3, le mot *primipilari* a été écrit *primipileri*, nous corrigeons. Au 11, le mot *aestu* a été écrit *aestus* mais le scribe s'est corrigé en barrant finement le s final.

³⁸ On a ici, selon quelques amis de Mantoue, comme Bruno Nardi, *Mantuanitas Virgiliana* (Roma 1963), et un grand paléographe, déjà cité, E. K. Rand, une grossière erreur, un "xxx" mis pour "trois", mais selon d'autres, comme L. Lehnus, une leçon *deterior* qu'il y a lieu de garder. Nous n'avons pas à en décider. Sur Pietole, voir plus loin, pp. 105-106.

³⁹ Les mots *Licinio, Magno, Cremonae* et *Mediolani* se trouvent dans la *Vita Donatiana*. Aelius Donat est ici accepté comme concurrent de Probus.

⁴⁰ On doit citer le titre mentionné par Priscien, *Inst.* I, 47, *Grammatici latini*, éd. KEIL (Lipsiae 1855), pp. 35-36: "Grillius ad Vergilium de accentibus scribens". On ne connaît d'ailleurs aucun milanais de ce nom.

⁴¹ La *Vita Probiana* n'est pas ici suivie. Elle met la récompense des vétérans après la bataille de Modène en 41, mais Probus dans sa préface aux *Bucoliques*, la met après celle d'Actium en 31 (*Appendix Serviana*, éd. H. HAGEN, [Lipsiae 1902], pp. 327-328), alors que la *Vita Donatiana* la mettait après Philippes en 42. Le collègue de Leto à l'Université, Antoine Mancinelli, dans son commentaire sur Virgile, préfère à juste titre la dernière donnée. Voir son *Argumentum* des *Bucoliques* par exemple au Virgile de Venise, du 8 octobre 1494, au f. 2^r du premier cahier (incunable non aux IGI, à la Vaticane, sous la cote Inc. II 961).

⁴² Sur les textes des divisions aux *milites*, voir notamment E. Diehl, *Die Vitae...* (comme note 3), Exkurs I, pp. 51-57.

3. Romam inde se contulit⁴³, et sub M. Epidio rhetore, qui fuerat Augusti preceptor⁴⁴, multum profecit, eiusque industria in amicitiam Asinii Pollionis receptus est⁴⁵. Cuius beneficio et Alpheni Vari et Corneli Gallii, quem unice dilexit⁴⁶, heredium paternum occupatum a Milieno Torone primipilari recuperavit⁴⁷.

4. Deinde per Mecenatem Caesari Augusto cognitus⁴⁸, usus familiaritate Quintilii Tuccae⁴⁹ et Sulpitii Vari⁵⁰, puerum amavit "Alexandrum a Pollione donatum, quem Alexim in Bucolicis appellat"⁵¹.

3 M.: Marco Alpheni: Alfeni 4 Tuccae: Tce Bucolicis: buccolicis

⁴³ Donat dans la *Vita* et saint Jérôme dans la Chronique d'Eusèbe (éd. R. Helm, *Eusebius*, Die Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller, VII [Berlin 1956], p. 155), parlent du transfert à Rome. Saint Jérôme ajoute à Eusèbe neuf additions concernant Virgile. Sa préface dit avoir puisé dans Suétone. On ne peut préciser quels textes sont pris exactement dans cet auteur. Les mots communs avec la *Vita Donatiana* ne sont pas fréquents.

⁴⁴ Suétone, *De grammaticis et rhetoribus*, éd. G. Brugnoli (Lipsiae 1972), p. 32, n° 28: "M. Epidius... ludum dicendi aperuit docuitque inter ceteros M. Antonium et Augustum".

⁴⁵ Sur Asinius Pollion et les autres hommes politiques qui suivent, il faut comparer la *Vita Donatiana*, dont le point de vue est différent: "Mox cum res Romanas inchoasset, offensus materia ad Bucolica transiit, maxime ut Asinium Pollionem, Alfenum Varum et Corneli Gallum celebraret, qui in distributione agrorum... indemnem se praestitissent" (éd. Brummer, 5 n. 1).

⁴⁶ Pour Alfenus Varus on a la sixième bucolique qui lui est dédiée. Sur le second, *quem unice dilexit*, cf. Probus, dans sa préface au commentaire des Églogues: "per Corneli... promeruit, ut agros suos reciperet... Gratias ergo agens Augusto, quod recepisset agros, Bucolica scripsit" (éd. Hagen, — voir n. 14 — p. 328). La dixième églogue, a-t-on cru longtemps, lui était dédiée, mais le *Gallus* est un amant trahi (cf. H. Goelzer, sur *Buc.* 10, dans la collection "Budé", p. 72). Sur Asinius Pollion, père ou fils, on a le témoignage de Servius: "Asconius Pedianus a Gallo audisse se refert, hanc eclogam (IV) in honorem eius factam" (éd. Hagen, p. 46).

⁴⁷ Le nom du primipilaire nouveau possesseur vient de Probus, éd. Hagen, III, 2 (1902), p. 328. Il est préféré à celui du centurion de la *Vita Donatiana*, éd. Brummer, pp. 15-16.

⁴⁸ Mécène est dit le premier à le faire connaître à Auguste. Il dira au n° 7 que Virgile aura sa maison (au Quirinal) "après" les jardins de Mécène. On sait qu'au confident d'Auguste sont dédiées les Géorgiques (I, 2; II, 41; III, 41, 46-48; IV, 2).

⁴⁹ La *Chronique* de saint Jérôme, en 23 a. C., fait mourir "Quintilius Cremonensis, Vergilii et Horatii familiaris", éd. Helm, — voir n. 43 — p. 165.

⁵⁰ On pensera au *Sulpitius Carthaginensis* de Donat qui reprend les derniers vers de la *Vita Probiana* en ajoutant un distique.

⁵¹ L'emprunt à Donat paraît établi: "maxime dilexit Ceбетem et Alexandrum quem secunda Bucolicorum ecloga Alexim appellat, donatum sibi ab Asinio Pollione", éd. Hardie (voir n. 1), p. 11. L'échanson de Pollion est celui dont Martial a dit que ses lèvres roses auraient conquis Jupiter (*Épigrammes*, 8, 56). L'*amavit* de notre texte laisse indécise la nature de cette affection. Le contexte plaidera pour l'innocence. Ne dissimulons pas cependant qu'en son commentaire de la seconde Bucolique, Leto rappelle tout ce qu'il a lu en sens contraire (éd. de Bâle 1544, p. 8). Toutefois le manuscrit d'Oxford, Bodleian, Can. Class. lat. 54, f. 33', cité par ZABUGHIN, "L'umanesimo nella storia della scienza", *L'Arcadia. Atti dell'Accademia...* 1918, III (Roma 1920), p. 142, prend parti nettement: "...legimus Virgilium fuisse proclivem in pios amores puerorum".

5. Lydiam puer admodum in agris suis dilexit⁵².
6. Plociae, [f. 77'] famosissimi scorti, aliquando domum adivit. Nec, ut Pedianus Asconius ait, confitente illa, cum ea coivit⁵³.
7. Domum habuit in Exquilina regione post Mecenatis hortos⁵⁴.
8. In Neapolitani sui hortulo ad quem secedebat *liberali otio vixit, secutus Epicuri sententiam*⁵⁵.
9. Parentes ipse tumulavit⁵⁶, et ex tribus fratribus duos, Silonem pene infantem et Flaccum natum annis xx⁵⁷.
10. *Bello Cantabrico*⁵⁸, cum cepisset scribere *Aeneida*, usque ad *sestertium centies ab Augusto honestatus est*, et in summam gratiam venit, "neque apud populum Romanum" industria "caruit". Testes sunt "Augusti epistole" ad eum scriptae⁵⁹. "Testis ipse populus, qui auditis in theatro Virgilii versibus", ut Cornelius Tacitus scribit, "surrexit universus, et forte presentem spectantemque Virgilium veneratus est, sic quasi Augustum"⁶⁰.

6 Plociae: Plotiae famosissimi: formosissimi ait: refert 7 post: prope 8 quem: quod otio: in otio 9 xx add quem in Buccolicis Damphnitis nomine deflevit
10 sestertium: sextertium industria: notitia versibus: uersibus

⁵² On a ici quatre mots de Leto, dans son commentaire des Bucoliques, sur *Amaryllida* (*Ecl.*, I, 5): "Vergilius Mantuae amavit Lydiam" (éd. de 1544, p. 3). "Dans ses champs" signifie pour lui à Mantoue. Il se garde de rappeler Servius "Tres dicitur amasse Vergilius Alexandrum, quem donavit ei Pollio, et Cebetem puerum cum Leria puella, quos a Maecenate dicitur accepisse" (éd. G. THILO, III, 1 [1887], p. 20).

⁵³ L'entremise de Varius, dont parle Donat, fut vaine. La courtisane, devenue âgée, avait coutume d'attester le refus obstiné du poète. Cela se sait par Asconius dans le livre qu'il écrivait au I^e siècle pour défendre Virgile. Voir les trois textes conservés de ce livre perdu, dans A. C. Clark, *Asconii Pediani Orationum quinque enarratio*, *Scriptorum classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis* (Oxford 1950), p. VIII.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Vita Donatiana*, éd. Brummer, pp. 341-342: "Habuitque domum Romae Esquilii iuxta hortos Maecenatianos". Les archéologues entendent l'Esquilin à l'Est de Sainte-Marie-Majeure.

⁵⁵ "Sectam Epicuream, disait Servius, didicerant tam Vergilius quam Varus docente Sirone" (éd. THILO, III, 1, [1887], p. 66).

⁵⁶ La sépulture des parents n'est pas mentionnée ailleurs.

⁵⁷ Le troisième frère est l'héritier nommé au n° 12.

⁵⁸ L'expédition d'Espagne dura de l'an 27 au printemps de l'an 24.

⁵⁹ Cf. E. Malcovati, *Augusti Operum fragmenta* (Torino, 1948). Il ne semble pas être fait là mention de cette citation de Tacite.

⁶⁰ Le *Dialogue* de Tacite fut trouvé à Hersfeld en 1455. On rencontre exactement le même texte au ms. Vat. lat. 1862, f. 28^v et à l'édition princeps de Venise, 1470.

11. Quinquagenarius Acticam petiit causa videndi Asiam. Ubi redeunti principi ex victoria orientis occurrit, aestu solis defatigatus, in tercianam duplicem incidit, et noluit pati Megaris curari, et dum in Italiam navigat, gravius egrotavit⁶¹.

12. *Decessit Brundusii* [f. 77^v] *annum agens quinquagesimum et primum*⁶², CN. Pontio Sextio et Q. Lucretio cons., xi° Kal. octobris, relictis *heredibus Augusto et Mecenate* et Virgilio Proculo fratre minore⁶³. Filium quem ex Galla suscepit, patri ad omnia dissimilem, exheredavit, nam intemperatae libidinis fuit popinariusque et parum eruditus⁶⁴.

13. Sepultus fuit *via Puteolana* ad secundum lapidem ex sinistris⁶⁵.

14. In cuius monumento, referente Valerio Probo⁶⁶, tale legebatur epigramma:

*Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope. Cecini pascua, poma, duces.*

15. "Statura fuit" procera, "colore" subpallido, natura debili et imbecilla, preter distillationem ad pectus, "dolore capitis laborabat". "Sanguinem" frequenter sputit. "Cibi" ac "vini" temperantissimus, amoris vero impensissimi usque ad suspicionem⁶⁷. Vixit sine avaritia et sine

11 Acticam add rursus causa: gratia oriente occurrit: occ. or. aestu: et estu tercianam: tertianam et noluit: neque uoluit et dum in Italiam nauigat: quare fastidio nauigationis 12 GN.: Gn. Kal.: calennis fratre minore: minore fratre patri: sibi exheredavit: exheredavit 13 fuit om 15 imbecilla: inbecilla sputit add proclius ad pthisim temperantissimus: continentissimus vixit om et om probabat: probauit imitari add ea

⁶¹ Ce numéro abrège Donat, il oublie de mettre la Grèce avant l'Asie, et de placer la rencontre à Athènes.

⁶² Probus fait mourir Virgile à cinquante ans. Donat lui donnait un an de moins (éd. Brummer, — voir n. 1 — p. 7). L'an 19 a. C. le consul C. Sentius Saturninus fait place à un Pontius Sextius inconnu.

⁶³ Donat indiquait un quatrième héritier et donnait à chacun sa part exacte, laquelle ici n'est pas précisée. Probus ne parlait pas comme Donat d'un frère utérin ni d'un autre père. Suivant ici Probus, le texte donne au puîné le nom du père: Virgile, alors que Donat l'appelait Valère.

⁶⁴ Le fils né de Galla n'est pas connu par ailleurs.

⁶⁵ *Lapidem secundum* est dans Donat; *ex sinistris* est ajouté.

⁶⁶ Pourquoi cette référence? Évidemment parce qu'on connaît l'épithaphe finissant par *rura duces*, à laquelle on préfère celle de Probus, telle qu'elle est dans l'édition de 1471, et aux mss. Vat. lat. 3255 et 7179, sans accepter l'étrange finale du ms. Vat. lat. 2930: *poma phruges*, ni celle *rudes, duces* qu'a un manuscrit du V^e siècle d'après saint Jérôme. Sur *fruges* on peut rappeler le vers des *Amores* d'Ovide (I 15.25), d'après les meilleurs manuscrits: *Tityrus et fruges Aeneiaque arma leguntur*.

⁶⁷ La phrase sur le physique de Virgile reprend les termes de Donat (mots entre guillemets), mais les corrige et les complète. On n'admet pas ensuite la "libido in pueros" mais on plaide pour un amour très ardent, qui le fait soupçonner.

invidia. Nam pollicenti Augusto cuiusdam proscripti agrum renuit⁶⁸. Aliorum bene scripta ita probabat, ut anteponeret suis et imitari minime negligeret⁶⁹.

16. Medicinae⁷⁰ et magicæ operam dedit. Plinius ait: "Catulli [f. 78] apud nos" et "proxime Virgiliti amatoria imitatio"⁷¹.

17. Scripsit eo stilo ut vetustatem semper redoleret, cuius amantissimus erat⁷². Curiosus, diligens, ingeniosus, eminens atque sublimis⁷³.

18. De eo sic Domitius Apher "interroganti" Quintiliano "quem Homero crederet maxime accedere", Secundum esse Virgilium respondit, propiorem "tamen primo quam tertio"⁷⁴.

19. Aeneis admirationem omnibus fecit, et si ipse testamento damnavit "Augustus" tamen, "contra testamenti verecundiam, cremari vetuit, maiusque ita vati testimonium contigit quam si ipse probasset"⁷⁵.

16 Uergilii: Verg. uetustatem: uetustate sublimis add et prope divinus 18 Apher: Afer secundum esse Virgilium respondit propiorem: respondit secundus est Virgilius, propior

⁶⁸ Comparer Donat, éd. Hardie, 5: "Bona autem cuiusdam exulantis offerente Augusto non sustinuit accipere".

⁶⁹ Les textes de Macrobe sur Virgile (*Sat.* V, éd. J. Willis [Leipzig 1970] I, pp. 241-345; cf. II, p. 184), étaient trop connus pour devoir être explicitement cités.

⁷⁰ Sur Virgile et la médecine, on peut voir les références des savants modernes, par exemple J. Pigeaud, "Virgile et la médecine", dans *Bimillenario de Virgilio* (Salamanca 1982), pp. 335-56.

⁷¹ Sur la magie le texte va renvoyer à Pline qui parlait (sans fondement connu) de Catulle comme ayant le premier avec le Virgile des *Bucoliques* VIII mis en vers les incantations des magiciennes, *imitatio amatoria* de Théocrite. On lit de même dans les commentaires des *Égl.*, 8, 96, éd. de 1544, p. 32: "Apud latinos duo fuerunt magici (corrigé de "due fuerunt magice, 1487, f. 6^v du cahier C) Virgilius et Catullus, ut ait Plinius". Comparer Pline, 28, 19, en passant le mot *incantamentorum*. Il faut deux points avant le renvoi à Pline, car sa citation explique les mots précédents: *magicæ operam dedit*.

⁷² Cf. Quintilien, *Inst.*, I, 7. 18: "Vergilius amantissimus vetustatis"; IX, 3. 4: "Alia commendatio vetustatis cuius amator unice Vergilius erat" (il s'agit seulement des formes archaïques).

⁷³ Ces épithètes n'ont guère de justification littéraire, sauf la première *curiosus*; on peut citer Servius, sur *Aen.* I, 44: "Totius... Italiae curiosissimum fuisse Vergilium", éd. Thilo, I (1881), 31; et Tacite, *Dial.*, 39: "curam et diligentis stili anxietatem".

⁷⁴ Quintilien, *Inst.*, X, 1. 86: "verbis quæ ex Afro Domitio iuvenis excepi: qui mihi interroganti quem Homero crederet maxime accedere, Secundus, inquit, est Vergilius, propior tamen primo quam tertio".

⁷⁵ Pline, *H. N.*, 7, 114: "Divus Augustus carmina Vergilii cremari contra testamenti eius verecundiam vetuit, maiusque ita vati testimonium contigit quam si ipse suo probavisset".

20. Virgilii viventis publice "primus" opera legit "Q. Cecilius Epyrota", de quo Marsus poeta monostichon edidit:

Epyrota tenellorum nutricula vatum⁷⁶.

*
* * *

La question d'auteur sera posée maintenant. Nous croyons pouvoir admettre que celui-ci fut Pomponio Leto. Les raisons suivantes y invitent.

1. Le titre du ms. 3255, f. 76^v, a ce sens le plus obvie: Bref recueil sur la vie de Virgile, composé par Jules Pomponio.

2. Le texte le confirme. *Succincta collectio*: il est court; il met en œuvre diverses sources.

3. Les sources sont des auteurs familiers à Leto dans ses commentaires sur Virgile. D'abord son Probus, puis Plinie l'Ancien, Suétone, Tacite, Quintilien.

4. Il ne peut ignorer Aelius Donat et Servius, mais corrige leurs *Vitae*. Il enlève tout ce qui est légendaire ou merveilleux. Là sa critique est remarquable, mais son portrait moral de Virgile est moins objectif. Qu'on ne fasse aucun reproche au poète romain et qu'on sache interpréter: on a cité un jeune esclave qui lui fut donné, mais il l'aima comme un fils. Nous, dit Leto, rappellerons sa première idylle mantouane avec la pucelle Lydia. Nous insisterons sur la pureté de ses mœurs à Rome.

5. La Vie est mise au début de l'Énéide au manuscrit d'Oxford. Le Catalogue de 1975, dû à A.C. de La Mare, p. 16, ne craint pas de parler sans plus de cette "Pomponio's Life of Virgil".

6. Leto faisait volontiers les *Vitae* des auteurs qu'il commente. On citera celles de Luain et de Stace, de 1469 et 1470, dont on admire ses délicieux autographes⁷⁷, celles de Varron et de Quintilien, dont on a la

20 legit: legit Romae Q.: Quintus Epyrota: Epirota monostichon: monasticom Epyrota: Epirota

⁷⁶ Suétone, *De grammaticis et rhetoribus*, éd. G. BRUGNOLI (Leipzig 1972), p. 20, n° 16: "Q. Caecilius Epirota... scholam aperuit, sed ita ut paucis et tantum adolescentibus praeciperet... Primus dicitur latine ex tempore disputasse primusque Vergilium et alios poetas novos praelegere coepisse quod etiam Domitii Marsi versiculis indicatur: *Epirota*..." Pour la citation, voir *Domitii Marsi Testimonia et fragmenta*, éd. D. FOGAZZA. Note e discussioni erudite a cura di A. Campana, 16, (Rome 1981), p. 45.

⁷⁷ Mss. Vat. lat. 3285, ff. 136^v-137^r (cf. pour d'autres détails, R. Bianchi, "Due citazioni attribuite a Festo...", *Atti e memorie dell' Arcadia*, ser. III, VII [1980-1981], p. 255, n. 5); et 3279, f. 1^{rv}, biographie adressée à Flavio Biondo.

copie d'un pomponien pour la première⁷⁸, et dix corrections faites de sa main pour la seconde⁷⁹, et d'autres, comme celle de Salluste et celle d'Ovide⁸⁰. On ne doit pas objecter que d'autres professeurs de la Sapience ont laissé aussi des *Vitae*, comme firent Calderini pour Martial et Juvénal, et Filetico pour Théocrite⁸¹, Antoine Volsco et Paul Marso pour Ovide⁸², Antoine Mancinelli de Velletri pour Virgile et pour Horace⁸³, et Jean Sulpizio de Veroli, pour Lucain⁸⁴. Mais il y a une objection plus grave faite par Zabughin: "Avvertiamo che Pomponio fu o plagiatario o plagiato". En effet une Vie presque identique, continue-t-il, ouvre un commentaire virgilien anonyme et contemporain⁸⁵.

Remarquons d'abord que le mot de plagiat ne convient pas. Si un

⁷⁸ Ms. Vat. lat. 3415, f. 1^v, copié en 1484.

⁷⁹ Sa Vie de Quintilien ainsi complétée est au ms. Vat. lat. 3378, f. 1^v. Il n'est pas nécessaire de démontrer l'évidence pour les corrections, bien qu'on puisse le faire, comme A. Perosa, "L'edizione veneta di Quintiliano...", dans les *Miscellanea Augusto Campana. Medioevo e umanesimo*, 45 (Padova 1981), p. 577, n. 4, en manifeste l'intention, pour le texte primitif, tel qu'il était copié par Leto lui-même, à la même page. Le texte finit par une phrase "Sed iam ad ipsam interpretationem veniamus", dont on prouvera qu'elle n'a pu être mise ni par Laurent Valla ni par un autre. Cette phrase a été imprimée aussi au Quintilien de Venise en 1494 au f. (2)^v du cahier a. Ce même incunable avait réimprimé à son dernier feuillet la vie primitive sans cette phrase. Il avait le texte dans l'édition Locatelli pour Octavien Scot de 1493. On notera que les trois imprimés ont omis un membre de phrase contenant 16 mots du texte primitif. Les trois peuvent donc dépendre d'un texte incomplet plus ancien.

⁸⁰ Dans son édition de Rome, chez Silber, le 3 avril 1490, au f. (3)^v du cahier a; et au ms. Vat. lat. 3263, f. 1^v, autographe de la troisième période, au filigrane de la reine très proche de Briquet, "homme" 7537 (année 1483).

⁸¹ Cf. J. Dunston, "Studies in Domizio Calderini", *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 11 (1968), p. 82, p. 102 et pl. VI; et Hain 9688: Venise 1475, f. 2^v, publiant son cours de Rome 1474; *Phileticus de vita Theocriti in libro de poetis antiquis*, en tête de sa traduction des *Bucoliques*, Rome, Silber (1481/82), f. 1^v.

⁸² Éditions d'Ovide, *Opera*, Venise, 15 décembre 1481, f. (10)^v, et *Fasti*, Milan 1483, cahier a, f. (2)^v. On se rappellera le colophon: "Religiosae litterariae sodalitati Viminali et universae academiae latinae ad viventium posterorumque usum".

⁸³ À la fin de son commentaire des *Géorgiques*, dans l'édition de Rome, 1490, au cahier m, ff. (7)^v-(8)^v ou au Virgile de Venise 1497 (comme ci-dessus, note 7), au cahier p, ff. (6)^v-(7)^v; dans l'Horace de Venise, 16 février 1495, f. (4)^v.

⁸⁴ Sa Vie est dédiée à Leto le 15 octobre 1492 au cahier A, ajouté à l'Horace de Venise, le 29 février de la même année (ce cahier ne figure pas au registre imprimé au f. 291^v). La Vie, au f. (2)^v du cahier A, reprend l'ancien texte d'Acron, Horace, de Padoue, 1481, cahier a, f. (2)^v, avec de nouvelles références. Le texte de Suétone (REIFFERSCHIED, pp. 44-48) n'était pas encore connu de nos humanistes.

⁸⁵ V. Zabughin, *Vergilio nel rinascimento italiano...*, I, p. 160. A la note 88 du même volume, p. 68, l'auteur semblait plus catégorique: "Fonte diretta di Pomponio è un anonimo coevo, il cui interessantissimo commento è superstite in Vat. lat. 2739", mais il est pris de scrupule et ajoute un point d'interrogation. Nous le contredirons sans aucun scrupule.

autre avait déjà donné la *Vita*, Leto pouvait la faire sienne sans manquer aux usages du temps. Mais le commentaire qui la contient n'est pas vraiment des mêmes années et il contient quelques particularités dont nous montrerons plus loin qu'elles ne viennent nullement de Leto. Nous devons en effet en venir maintenant aux divers auteurs qui donnent eux aussi le texte du chef de l'Académie.

B. Les remaniements

Nous en rencontrerons trois. Le premier a déjà été imprimé. Le second est complètement nouveau. Le troisième est celui du commentateur objecté par Zabughin. Nous en traiterons dans l'ordre chronologique.

I. Cinzio de Ceneda

Ceneda est aujourd'hui Vittorio Veneto au Nord de Venise. Le poète Cinzio illustre sa ville natale. Il n'y fut guère moins célèbre, disait un contemporain, que Virgile à Mantoue ou Catulle à Vérone:

Gaudeat Ceneta suo Cynthio, non minus
Quam Mantua Virgilio, aut Verona Catullo⁸⁶.

Ses vers furent vantés par Sabellico dans son *De reparatione Latinae linguae* en 1489⁸⁷. Les érudits du diocèse voisin de Bellune ont fait grand éloge de son enseignement⁸⁸. Il avait été à Rome l'élève de Pomponio Leto et de Calderini. Il s'en retourna dans son pays et professa les lettres latines à Spilimbergo dans le Frioul. Son commentaire sur l'*Énéide* dépend dans une certaine mesure des notes de cours qu'il avait emportées de Rome⁸⁹. Il commence par la Vie de Virgile dans

⁸⁶ Jacques fils d'Artico, comte de Porcia, dans son *Opus epistolarum familiarium*, cité par l'évêque d'Asti, F. Artico, à l'Appendice de l'édition étudiée plus loin, Milano 1845, p. 266. Les textes, malgré leurs références, ne se trouvent pas dans Hain, 13605. On ne sait si l'évêque usait d'un manuscrit Porcia.

⁸⁷ Marc Antoine Coccio ou Sabellico, *Opera omnia* (Basileae 1560), IV, p. 331. Voir aussi la *Dissertatio* de Battista Guarino, p. 335, et R. Avesani, *Verona nel Quattrocento. La civiltà delle lettere* (Verona 1984), p. 231.

⁸⁸ Voir la lettre de Victor Lysiensis au gentilhomme de Feltre, dans l'Appendice de F. ARTICO, p. 265.

⁸⁹ R. Sabbadini en a parlé savamment dans *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV*, I (Florence 1905, et réimpression en 1967), pp. 167-168. V. Zabughin, *Giulio Pomponio Leto*, II, p. 70, n'est pas moins catégorique pour considérer le commentaire

une recension en partie nouvelle. Elle est conservée à Milan à la Bibliothèque Ambrosienne au ms. R 13 sup., aux feuillets 1^r-2^r.

Le texte en fut copié sur place par le futur cardinal Angelo Mai, avant d'aller à Rome à la Bibliothèque Vaticane où il fut depuis 1819. Il l'édita dans une de ses collections, avec le début du Commentaire de Cinzio jusqu'au vers 108 du chant III. Il fit à ce sujet un aveu charmant en publiant ce qu'il avait copié: "Utinam reliqua non omissem!"⁹⁰. Le titre qu'il donne est celui du manuscrit, sauf le dernier mot, qui est important et que nous ajoutons ici:

*Commentarium in Maronem editum a Cynthio Cenetensi
in omni dicendi genere integerrimo Spil<i>mbergi*

Le dernier mot indique la petite ville du Frioul, Spilimbergo (aujourd'hui 10.000 habitants), où enseignait l'auteur. On en rapprochera l'explicit du codex qui est entièrement de la même main et où le scribe se nomme et donne la date d'achèvement de son travail:

Finis commentarii in Maronem editi per Cynthium Cenetensem,
in omni dicendi genere integerrimum, perscripti per me,
Simonem Fonticulanum, cognomine Callimachum.
M CCCC LXXVIII, XVII Kal. Ianuariis, hora V noctis.

La copie fut donc achevée le 16 décembre 1478. Quant à savoir si le cours fut donné longtemps avant ou plutôt si l'enseignement n'est guère antérieur, on pourrait le déterminer par l'étude des sources, mais cela nous écarterait trop de notre propos.

L'édition Mai n'est pas un modèle. Elle omet un mot au titre, et au 10, *sic*, au 15, *sine invidia*, au 16, *magicæ*. Elle lit mal et corrige comme il lui plaît: *patre Virgilio* pour *patre Vergelio* au 1, *mox* pour

comme une réédition de l'œuvre de Leto. Nous n'en sommes pas sûr: ni les vers de Virgile choisis par Cinzio, ni les auteurs qu'il cite, ni les explications données ne sont les mêmes que dans l'édition de Brescia après 1486 et de Bâle en 1544. Il est vrai seulement que d'assez nombreux passages du cours de Leto se retrouvent littéralement, ou paraphrasés, ou discutés. On demandera ce qui est de Leto pour le reste. Nous n'avons pas à nous en occuper ici. On verra A. Lunelli, "Il commento virgiliano di Pomponio Leto", dans *Atti del Convegno Virgiliano di Brindisi...*, (Istituto di filologia latina dell'Università di Perugia, 1983), pp. 309-322. On attendra beaucoup de l'ouvrage annoncé. Qu'il suffise de dire qu'aux éditions et manuscrits connus, Lunelli ajoute l'*Énéide* transcrite et annotée par Leto, de la Capitulaire de Vérone, ms. CLXIV (151).

⁹⁰ A. Mai, *Classicorum auctorum e vaticanis codicibus editorum*, VII (Romae 1835), p. 394; le texte de Cinzio, ainsi que d'autres copiés à Milan, se trouve aux pp. 321-396. Sur le cardinal éditeur, voir R. Avesani, "Angelo Mai 'scopritore famoso'", dans le recueil de l'Arciconfraternità dei Bergamaschi di Roma: *Angelo Mai, sacerdote e umanista* (Roma 1984), pp. 51-59.

inde au 3 et pour *deinde* au 4, *proclivi* pour *procliuis* au 15, *Cyдум* *puerum* pour *Lydiam* au 5; elle fait dire à Asconius: *contra in eum liberalis fuit* au 6; elle met *subsistere* pour *curari* au 11, *puta* pour *puer* en ajoutant *iuuenis* au 17, *iuenis* pour *viventis*, et *versus* pour *omnia* au 20.

Un prêtre de Milan, docteur de l'Ambrosienne, voulut reprendre le travail dix ans plus tard. Grâce à G.B. Dozio on a du codex de Cinzio une édition généralement bonne⁹¹.

En ce qui concerne la Vita, elle passe au titre *in omni...Spilimbergi*, elle déplace au 1 *abest* après *milibus* et omet le 6, sans doute par pudeur, elle met *Lydium puerum* (ce mot comme Mai), pour *Lydiam*, puis suit le manuscrit avec d'autres changements de moindre importance.

Le manuscrit lui-même comparé au Vat. lat. 3255 présente les variantes suivantes (*om* = *omis*):

Au 1 octobr. *pour* octobribus; Cremonae *om*; au 3 Marco *pour* M.; Polionis *pour* Pollionis; primo pilari *pour* primipilari; au 4 Inde *pour* Deinde; usus *om*; et... Vari *om*; a... donatum *om*; Bucc^{is} *pour* Bucolicis; appellauit *pour* appellat; au 5 puer' *pour* puer; au 6 demum aliquando *pour* a. d.; Asconius *om*; cum ea cohiuit illa confitente *pour* c. i. c. e. coiuit; au 7 (mis après le 8) prope hortulos Maecenatis *pour* post Mecenas hertos; au 8 (mis avant le 7) In otio secutus dogma Epicuri *pour* In Neapolitani... sententias Epicuri; au 10 Eneida *pour* Aeneida; est honestatus *pour* h. e.; nec *pour* neque; notitia (avec Tacite, comme Oxford) *pour* industria; Testes... populus *om*; nam *pour* qui; Vergilii *pour* Virgilii; ipse populus Romanus *pour* ut Cornelius Tacitus scribit; sic veneratus *pour* veneratus; au 11 Atticam *pour* Acticam; gratia visendi orientem *pour* causa uidendi Asiam; et aestu *pour* aestu; nec pati voluit *pour* et noluit pati; et dum... egrotavit *om*; au 12 et primum *om*; C. *pour* CN. Pontio; x *pour* xi°; relictis... eruditus *om*; au 13 in via patrolana *pour* uia Puteolana; a *pour* ex; au 14 referente Valerio Probo *om*; legitur *pour* legebatur; rura *pour* poma; au 15 debili et *om*; imbecilli procliuis ad psitim *pour* imbecilla... pectus; saepius laborabat *pour* laborabat... spuit; continentissimus *pour* temperantissimus; vero *om*, usque... avaritia et *om*; Nam... renuit *om*; et... negligeret *om*; au 16 Et medicinae *pour* Medicinae et magicae; testante Plinio *pour* Plinius ait; au 17 erat amantissimus *pour* a. e.; Curiosus... sublimis *om*; le 18 est *omis*; au 19 sans Aeneis on a le texte donné plus loin tandis que Augustus... probasset est *omis*; au 20 uiuentis Vergilii opera primus Romae *pour* Virgilii... opera; tale edidit monosticon *pour* poeta monostichon edidit; tenerorum *pour* tenellorum.

⁹¹ *Cynthii Cenetensis in Virgilii Aeneidem commentarium e codice Ambrosianae Bibliothecae, indicatis variorum notis* (Mediolani 1845).

On remarque que le texte de Cinzio a plusieurs omissions: ont disparu *Cremonae* au 1; *a Pollione donatum* au 4, Naples et le jardin au 8 (Virgile est ainsi fait épicurien à Rome). La citation de Tacite est écourtée au 10. L'aggravation de la maladie par le voyage en mer pour regagner l'Italie est omise au 11. Il n'est pas question d'une 51^{ème} année au 12. Est omis le dernier fils au même 12. La référence à Probus au 14 n'a pas été comprise; elle est omise, et le texte ne garde pas *poma*. Au 15, pour la santé de Virgile, on omet la toux du poitrinaire et les crachements de sang (l'éditeur Dozio omet aussi la menace de phthisie que le manuscrit contient). Sur la réputation du poète, on ne parle pas de soupçon ni du refus de l'offre d'Auguste. On passe aussi tout ce qui touche à l'imitation des sources. Au 18 (où l'éditeur a préféré corriger le texte en *venustatem* et parler ingénument de la beauté du style au lieu de son archaïsme), Cinzio ne semble pas avoir aimé les épithètes finales. Au 18 le témoignage de Quintilien est omis. Au 19 l'intervention d'Auguste pour ne pas laisser brûler l'Énéide est passée sous silence. L'ordre est changé au 16: la magie vient avant la médecine, et le témoignage de Pline n'est pas compris, et omis en conséquence.

On voit que l'édition Cinzio a beaucoup écourté la *Vita* romaine. Elle y a ajouté aussi, pour la première fois, deux numéros que nous rééditons:

19. Multa opera literis commendavit: puer admodum in Balistam quendam ludimagistrum; postea Moretum, Priapeia, Copam, Diras, Culicem, Aetnam, et nonnulla epigrammata. Postea in Bucolicam transiit. Mox Agriculturam aggressus est ad honorem Maecenatis. Novissime edidit in honorem Augusti, quae omnibus admirationem fecit, etsi ipse testamento damnavit.

21. Et primus liber Vergilii, qui emissus est, inscribitur Culex, cuius tale est initium:

Lusimus, Octavi, carmen modulante Thalia.

Ce qui est dit de l'Énéide finit par la relative *quae... damnavit* et rejoint ainsi le texte romain.

Remarquons que l'ordre des opuscules n'est pas celui de Donat⁹², ni celui de Servius⁹³, ni celui des manuscrits dépouillés par les éditeurs récents⁹⁴, ni celui d'aucun des premiers incunables de Virgile.

⁹² "In Ballistam ludimagistrum... Deinde Catalecton et Priapea et Epigrammatica et Diras, item Cirim et Culicem... Scripsit etiam de qua ambigitur Aetnam", éd. Brummer, pp. 4-5.

⁹³ "...in Ballistam latronem... Scripsit etiam septem sive octo libros hos: Cirim, Aetna, Culicem, Priapeia, Catalecton, Epigrammata, Copam, Diras", éd. Thilo, I, 1.

⁹⁴ *Appendix Vergiliana sive Carmina minora Vergilio adtributa*, éd. R. Ellis (Oxford

Pour le *Culex* premier édité, il le fut à seize ans, selon certains manuscrits de Donat.

II. Pierre Marso

Du Frioul nous allons redescendre jusqu'à Bologne. Là l'Université entendit, en octobre 1478, 1479 ou 1480, un discours d'ouverture de la Faculté des lettres. Il fut prononcé par un ancien élève de Pomponio Leto. C'était l'Abruzzese Pierre Marso, né à Cese en 1441, élève à l'Académie, arrêté sous Paul II en 1468 avec Platina et bien d'autres, en captivité au château Saint-Ange pendant un an en compagnie du maître ramené de Venise. Il devint professeur à Rome où il enseigna, au moins après son séjour bolonais, le grec et la littérature latine de 1481 aux années suivantes, et probablement jusqu'à sa mort en 1511⁹⁵. La nomination de Bologne lui échut grâce au cardinal-légat Francesco de Gonzague, dont il était le familier. Le prélat lui fit même payer, le 28 avril 1478, trois cents livres, en plus des 150 (chiffre normal), pour l'année économique suivante, qui commençait en octobre 1478⁹⁶. Peut-être celle-ci s'ouvrit-elle par un discours universitaire encore conservé, lequel pourrait cependant être daté aussi bien de 1479 ou 1480. Il fut copié par l'humaniste et chroniqueur bavarois bien connu Hartmann Schedel. Son manuscrit autographe se garde à Munich, avec les nombreux autres de sa grande bibliothèque. Trois discours d'ouverture de l'Université bolonaise se lisent au ms. lat. 414: le premier aux ff. 109^r-115^r, le second aux ff. 116^r-119^v, daté par Schedel de 1482, le dernier aux ff. 120^r-124^r; celui-ci peut se dater avec certitude de 1481, et c'est aussi l'année qu'écrivit Schedel⁹⁷. Le premier, seul à nous intéresser ici, semble

1907), etc.; cf. éd. W. V. Clausen *cum aliis* (Oxford 1966): ordre d'un catalogue de bibliothèque du IX^e siècle.

⁹⁵ Notre étude sur *L'humanisme de Pierre Marso*, à paraître aux *Studi e Testi* (Vatican) justifiera ces données.

⁹⁶ Bologna, Archivio di Stato, *Partitum* 8, f. 171^r.

⁹⁷ Voici le texte du catalogue K. Helm et G. Laubmer, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, II (München 1868), p. 78: 414, f. 109^r, "Petri Marsi oratio habita in studio Bononiensi, item aliae ibidem habitae a. 1482". Cette année est à corriger. Le premier discours n'a pas de date au manuscrit. Le second seul a l'année 1482. C'est un beau discours d'un légiste aux juristes. Le troisième est un petit chef d'œuvre sur Virgile. Le professeur va le traiter seul, matin et soir malgré la règle, parce qu'il n'est aucun plus grand orateur que le poète. L'auteur du discours est un de ceux qui ont nommé le recteur actuel. Il parle des Anglais: "Anglici, e quibus hunc nobis inclitum prefecimus rectorem" (f. 122^v). C'est en octobre 1481 que devint recteur "Dominus Iohannes de Anglia, dominorum scholarium utriusque universitatis dignissimus rector" (U. Dallari, *I rotuli dei lettori legisti e artisti dello studio Bolognese dal 1384 al 1799*, I [Bologna 1888], p. 113; C. Piana, *Il "Liber*

d'une des années 1478 à 1480: "Oratio habita in studio Bononiensi a Petro Marso". Il annonce un cours sur les Géorgiques de Virgile: "(opus) de agricultura... quod hoc anno interpretabor". Il s'achève par les éloges des poètes: "Quorum lectio, ut Theophrastus dicere solebat, perutilis est. Habent enim poete in rebus spiritum, in verbis sublimitatem, in affectibus motum, et in personis decorum, quod servare difficile est.", et puis leur application au poète de Mantoue: "Si ob id igitur poete legendi sunt, quia et delectant et prosunt, quis Maronem nostrum, quo Mantua tanto alumno inclyta, Smyrnam, sive mavis Colophonem⁹⁸, provocare potest, in manibus semper habendum non censeat? In quo quicquid in optimo poeta esse debet cumulatissime reperitur. Et est qui in omni genere figuraque scribendi sine controversia principatum meruit." Ceci dit, il introduit sans autre explication ni titre la *Vita*, qu'il va réciter, semble-t-il, d'un bout à l'autre (avec l'*incipit*: "Natus est idibus octobris..." et le *desinit*: "...et(sic) nutricula vatum").

Nous donnerons son texte complet seulement quand il présente des particularités, car Marso a six additions et six omissions, en plus des changements minimes que nous énumérerons sans rien excepter.

I. Natus est idibus octobris, M. Licinio Crasso et Gn. Pompeio Magno consulibus, patre Virgilio rustico, matre Magia Polla, in Andevico, qui tribus fere milibus passuum a Mantua distat: Pletulas nunc appellant. Tenui facultate nutritus, puer Cremone vixit, in extrema pueritia Mediolani sub Gryllo grammatico.

La dernière phrase s'écarte du texte de Probus: *Tenui* se rapporte à Crémone. Quant à l'addition sur les trois mille pas, comment s'en étonner chez un familier du cardinal de Gonzague? Le moyen âge avait déjà identifié le *vicus Ande* avec Pietole. Le Purgatoire de Dante (18, 82-83) reste le texte le plus connu:

*E quell' ombra gentil per cui si noma
Pietola più che villa Mantovana*

Rappelons aussi celui de Sicco Polenton, dans la *Vita* achevée en 1437: "Maro autem apud parentes in villa tunc Andes, postea Pletulae,

secretus iuris caesarei" dell'Università di Bologna 1451-1500, Orbis Academicus, I [Milano 1984], p. 250, n. 837). L'orateur est donc un des successeurs de Marso. On a le choix entre les trois cités par Dallari, voir l'index au t. 4, 1924: Matthieu de Gipso, Philippe Beroaldo et Laurent de Rubeis. Quant à Pierre Marso lui-même, il est au 15 octobre de 1478 et de 1479, ib., I, p. 107 et 110.

⁹⁸ Smyrne comme patrie d'Homère était assez connue, et Colophon était pris par Marso sans doute à son Strabon (*Teubneriana*, 1915, p. 897, c. 643, n° 28).

educatur puer”⁹⁹. Aujourd’hui la carte du Touring Club ne connaît plus que “Virgilio” à 4 km au Sud de Mantoue. Marso ne tenait guère à sa distance, car dans son commentaire romain de Silius Italicus, édité à Venise en 1483, il parlera seulement de deux mille pas¹⁰⁰. Peut-être était-il influencé par Boccace qui a parlé de Pietole sur la rive du Mincio: “haud plus duo milia passuum a Mantua”¹⁰¹.

5. Lydiam puer admodum in agris suis dilexit, cuius in *Diris* meminit.

Aux *Dirae*¹⁰², le nom de Lydia est au second poème au vers 107; on l’a déjà aux vers 41 et 89-90:

Dulcia rura valete, et Lydia dulcior illis,
Et casti fontes, et felix nomen agelli.

Et 95-96:

Rura valete iterum, tuque, optima Lydia salve,
Sive eris, et si non, mecum morieris, utrumque.

7. Domum habuit Rome in Exquilis prope hortos Mecenatis et edes Corneliorum, quorum vestigia et conspicui fornices adhuc extant.

On sait que l’Esquilin ou son “rione”, ou le Viminal, ou le “monte Caballo”, ou la colline du Quirinal, c’est tout un pour nos humanistes. Qu’est-ce que “cette demeure des *Cornelii* avec les voûtes qu’on y admire encore”? Répondons que ce sont les ruines voisines de l’église du Sauveur: *Sancti Salvatoris* “degli *Cornelii*”, qui s’élevait dans ce qui est aujourd’hui la cour d’honneur du palais Rospigliosi. Celui-ci remplaça l’hôtel de Platina¹⁰³, tandis qu’à côté se trouvaient les maisons jumelées

⁹⁹ Édition Sabbadini (voir note 2), p. 216.

¹⁰⁰ Sur Silius, 8, 593-594: “*Mantua* urbs insignis Virgilio alumno; ideo dicit ipsam esse domum musarum. *Cantu Andino* tuba virgiliana, quoniam Andes vicus est distans a Mantua duobus millibus passuum, quem Pletulas nunc appellant, ubi natus est Virgilius, ut scribit Valerius Probus”.

¹⁰¹ Ms. Milan Ambr. D 41 inf., f. 60, cité par B. Nardi, “Le tradizioni virgiliane di Pietole nel medio evo”, *Studi medievali*, 5 (1932), p. 123 et 122, n. 5.

¹⁰² *Appendix Vergiliana*, éd. W.V. Clausen..., E. J. Kenney (Oxford 1966), pp. 10-14.

¹⁰³ La généalogie des édifices est connue: après le bibliothécaire de la Vaticane, les La Rovère, et les moniales, puis Scipion Borghèse, Altemps, Bentivoglio, Mazarin et Mancini, puis la famille de Clément IX. On verra surtout les précieuses indications de M. Del Piazzo dans l’ouvrage en collaboration *Il palazzo della Consulta* (Roma 1975), pp. 253-257. On sait que les archéologues se préoccupent surtout du temple de Sérapis sous Caracalla et des thermes de Constantin au temps de ce premier empereur chrétien. Nous voudrions savoir davantage sur leurs ruines au temps de Pomponio Leto. Une plaque de

de Pomponio Leto. De celles-ci l'illustre professeur devait de grand matin, armé de sa lanterne, descendre par l'actuelle "Via della Cordo-nata", pour aller faire ses cours à Saint-Eustache ou à la Sapience d'alors. Les ruines des thermes de Constantin qu'il traversait, se voient le mieux aujourd'hui, avec celles du temple de Sérapis, en haut des jardins du palais Colonna et derrière l'Université Grégorienne. Les arcs s'y devinent encore et les galeries que les Académiciens pouvaient parcourir. On comprend que Pierre Marso prit plaisir à dire ici à ses auditeurs bolonais, que c'était là, avec le verger et les grottes de Leto, plutôt qu'au jardin de Mécène plus au Nord, l'ancien asile romain de Virgile. Qui ne le croirait à Bologne, quand parlait un professeur ancien élève du grand maître archéologue?

11. *Quinquagenarius in Greciam transivit studio videndi Asiam, et ut suam Eneida elimaret, ubi Augusto ex victoria orientis redeunti occurrit.*

L'achèvement de l'*Énéide* est une donnée nouvelle.

13. *Sepultus est Maro prope Neapolim via Puteola ad secundum lapidem.*

L'auditeur de Bologne peut ne pas savoir que la voie de Pouzzoles est près de Naples.

On remarque d'autre part les omissions suivantes. D'abord le n° 6 a disparu, peut-être pour l'honneur du poète. Ensuite, au 10, la référence à Tacite est passée et le début de son texte manque. Au 12, *et primum* est omis: Virgile ne vécut que quarante-neuf ans. Au 13, *ex sinistris* est passé. Au 15, ont disparu les mots *amoris vero impensissimi. Vixit*. Au 16, manque la référence à Pline et son explication de la magie. Au 17, on n'a plus *cuius amantissimus erat*, mais on lit *Vetustatis amator quam semper eius redolet stilus*. Au 19 *contra testamenti verecundiam* a disparu, ce qu'un légiste de Bologne regrettera.

Changements plus minimes, non déjà à Oxford: au 2 *diviserunt* au lieu de *divisere*; au 4 *amavit puerum Alexandrum* au lieu de *pu. am. Al. et Alexin* au lieu d'*Alexim*; au 8 *ad quod secedebat hortulo* au lieu de *hortulo ad quem secedebat*; au 10 *quom* pour *cum*; *cencies* pour *centies*; *aput* pour *apud*; au 12 *minore fratre* au lieu de *fr. min.*; au 19 *quamvis*

marbre avait été mise sur sa maison à la fin du XVI^e siècle. Le cardinal Scipion Borghèse, qui détruisit beaucoup, eut au moins la bonne idée de faire faire un plan des ruines en 1605 ou à peu près! Il se trouve aux Archives Borghèse aux Archives vaticanes, comme a bien voulu nous le dire la directrice des fouilles actuelles.

pour *etsi*; *damnaverit* pour *damnavit*; au 20 *opera primus publice legit Rome*, au lieu de *publice primus opera legit*; et aussi *et* introduit avant *nutricola*.

On voit donc le texte cher à Pomponio repris par le professeur de Bologne, qui le complète et le traite librement. Nous verrons cela encore dans un dernier auteur.

III. Le commentateur anonyme

Le ms. Vat. lat. 2739 commence au f. 1 par la *Vita* de Virgile. C'est le texte dont Zabughin a cru que Leto l'avait eu comme source.

Le manuscrit compte 319 feuillets de papier de 22 cm de haut sur 16 de large. Il a été relié en carton recouvert de parchemin blanc aux armes de Pie VI et du cardinal Zelada, travail qui eut lieu entre 1779 et 1799. C'est un recueil factice. Nous y négligerons les commentaires de Lucain et d'Horace qui y figurent à partir du f. 175. Seules nous intéressent les deux premières pièces sur Virgile. Il y a d'abord un commentaire des quatre premiers chants de l'*Énéide*, puis une copie de celui du premier chant. Les deux débutent par la *Vita*.

Celle-ci aux ff. 1 et 2 est fort abîmée par l'humidité et par endroits peu lisible. La copie nous permettra de retrouver le texte.

Les quatre chants sont introduits chacun par un titre spécial, d'abord: *P. Virgilii Maronis Aeneidos liber primus*, ff. 1^r-52^v; puis: *Yhs... Liber secundus*, ff. 53^r-74^v (ici arrêt au vers 352, la suite est annoncée par une réclame, qui ne correspond pas au texte suivant: il y a une lacune); ensuite: *Laus Deo... Liber tertius*, ff. 75^r-120^r, et sur la même page, après un *Vale* concluant le troisième chant, une reprise: *Publii... Liber quartus*, allant du f. 120^r au f. 158^v, où se lit: *Finis*¹⁰⁴.

L'écriture de ce livre est une cursive humanistique avec de nombreuses influences gothiques. Elle n'est pas élégante. On ne la mettra guère avant 1480. Elle semble à première vue de plusieurs mains, mais elle est seulement de grandeur diverse. Elle s'enlaidit par manque de soin après avoir commenté chaque livre d'abord d'une plume bien taillée et qui écrit petit et très nettement. Elle remplit 30 lignes assez serrées par page. En réalité nous croyons que tout le texte est autographe et constitue un manuscrit d'auteur. Il a relu son œuvre et corrige ses fautes d'une autre encre.

¹⁰⁴ Voici la collation des cahiers avec le nombre de leurs feuillets: 1-3¹² 4¹⁴ 5⁶ 6¹⁰ 7¹² 8¹⁴ 9-10¹⁶ 11-12¹² 13¹⁶.

Au contraire les douze feuillets qui reproduisent l'interprétation du premier chant, précédée de la Vie, aux ff. 159^r-170^v, sont d'une autre main. L'écriture est plus tardive et très négligente bien que lisible. Elle s'est arrêté, croirait-on, à la fin de ce sexternion, au vers 108 du premier chant, mais elle devait continuer et avait mis une réclame annonçant la suite, à laquelle rien ne répond. Le scribe modifie parfois le texte. Des fautes trahissent le copiste. On trouve par exemple plus d'une fois *in muccolicis* pour *in buccolicis*.

La date du commentaire apparaît avec quelque probabilité par l'examen du papier. Les filigranes assez nombreux qu'a bien voulu examiner à notre demande, Mgr P. Canart, que nous remercions de son extrême obligeance, sont malaisés à retrouver ou à situer dans le dernier tiers du XV^e siècle. L'un d'entre eux, aux ff. 1-52, 132-158, paraît très proche de l'oiseau de Briquet 12149, signalé à Rome en 1484.

Nous n'avons pu identifier l'auteur. Nous laisserons son ouvrage anonyme comme firent Zabughin et Kristeller¹⁰⁵.

Le commentaire est très différent de celui de Leto, d'ailleurs mal connu. Il en diffère par sa longueur d'abord. Il ne laisse aucun vers sans explication. Il s'en rapporte à beaucoup d'auteurs fréquentés par le maître, mais en des textes nouveaux et plus longs. Nous avons remarqué par exemple au premier chant 27 citations de Pline l'Ancien et 12 de Strabon. Il y a d'autres auteurs que le commentaire virgilien de Leto n'a pas connus, tels que Macrobie: *referente Macrobio*, ou à peine cité, tel qu'Aulu-Gelle: *referente Gelio*.

Certains textes sont apparentés, par exemple sur les îles éoliennes, *Énéide*, I. 52 (ms. 2739, f. 8^v, éd. de Brescia, préfacée en 1486, cahier a, f. 4^r; éd. de Bâle, 1544, p. 249); sur le ciel, *Én.*, I. 58 (ms. f. 9^{r-v}, éd. de Brescia, 5^r; Bâle, pp. 252-253): trois textes de Virgile sur Dédale, d'Ennius dans sa Médée, et d'Aemilius Asper; sur les nimphes au vers 71; Quinte-Curce au vers 119; Silius Italicus au 159; Quintilien au 365.

Source commune? Emprunt de Leto à un premier état de l'anonyme? Ou de l'anonyme aux notes de cours de Leto? Nous pensons que la dernière hypothèse est la plus probable. Ce que confirmera l'examen de la *Vita* que nous devons faire à présent.

La *Vita* commence par cinq numéros exactement semblables à ceux que nous connaissons déjà. Ils ont seulement de menus changements que

¹⁰⁵ V. Zabughin, "L'umanesimo nella storia della scienza", *L'Arcadia. Atti dell'Accademia...* 1917, I (1918), p. 6; P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum...* II (London-Leiden 1967), p. 351.

nous relèverons plus loin avec les autres, en appelant A le début du manuscrit et B celui de la copie.

Le n° 6 doit être cité: *Plotie, famosissimi scorti, domum aliquando adiit, cum qua numquam rem habuit, ut Asconius Pedianus tradidit, ea referente*. Les mots *tradidit* et *referente* seront notés. Ce sont les deux façons dont l'anonyme introduit cent fois les auteurs anciens qu'il cite. Asconius est dit avoir "livré", mais la courtisane, qui dans l'original avait avoué: *confitente*, est dite ici avoir donné comme les autres écrivains cette 'référence'. Le mot ne convient guère. Il indique une seconde élaboration.

Le n° 10 finit par ... *in summam eius gratiam pervenit*. Il n'a aucune mention du texte de Tacite dont Marso avait seulement la seconde partie et ne nommait pas l'auteur.

Le n° 11 reprend à la fin *fastidio navigationis*, comme Oxford et Marso, avant *gravius egrotavit*.

Le n° 12 omet la cinquante et unième année venue de Probus: *quingagesimum et primum*. On se soucie moins d'être fidèle à cet auteur.

Le n° 13: *Sepultus est in via Puteolana*, ne précise rien.

Le 14 n'a pas compris la nouvelle référence à Probus. Il ne répète pas, comme Marso, mais écrit: *In cuius sepulchro, ut Valerius Probus tradidit, hoc epitaphium legebatur*, et donne au lieu de ... *poma, duces*, le vers du distique bien connu finissant par *rura duces*.

Au 15 une addition comme Oxford et Marso: *Proclivis ad pthisim* (mais l'anonyme a écrit *proclivus*); de même changement: *continentissimus* pour *temperatissimus*. De plus: *Aliorum bene scripta...* devient *Aliorum scripta ita probavit ut sibi ea ad imitationem poneret*.

16. *Magice et medicine operam dedit. Plinius enim scribit primos Catullum et Virgilium amatoriam scripsisse*. Voulant insister sur la magie, le commentateur a changé l'ordre, mais il n'a pas compris que le texte de Pline ne se rapporte pas à la médecine mais aux incantations.

17. *Amantissimus fuit vetustatis. Eius stilus suavis, copiosus, redundans et similis nature*. L'archaïsme du style n'est plus précisé. Suivent les adjectifs, avec à la fin *et prope divinus* comme dans Oxford et Marso.

Le 18 est conforme aux autres manuscrits.

Le 19 commence par l'énumération des premières œuvres comme Cinzio mais le texte diffère: *Scriptis Priapeia, Culicem, Cirim, Aetnam, Diras. Scriptis elegiam qua mortem Mecenatis deflevit*. Après ces six *minora*, le texte va emprunter à Macrobe et à la *Vita Donatiana: Inde Buccolica, ubi "Theocritum" imitatus est, et "operis pastoralis auctorem"*

habuit¹⁰⁶, et illic "Asinium Pollionem, Alphenum, Varum et Cornelium Gallum" celebravit¹⁰⁷. Scripsit item Georgica, ubi imitatus est Esiodum. Et denique cecinit Eneida, quam totam "ab Homero" mutuatus "est" et "homeris filis" contexit. Errores enim Ulixis "ex Odissea" accepit, "pugnas" vero "ex Iliade". "Eversionem" vero "Troie" accepit "a Pisandro" poeta¹⁰⁸. Et Eneis admirationem omnium fecit. Nam, quamvis ipse testamento damnaverit, Augustus tamen... le reste est conforme, et le n° 20 de même¹⁰⁹. Le commentaire au début du chant II, parle longuement de Pisander et du texte de Macrobe. On voit par là que sa *Vita* a été complétée après son propre commentaire. Elle n'a pas été copiée d'abord d'un commentaire d'autrui.

Nous pouvons donc estimer que l'anonyme est postérieur à Leto, et aussi, comme Marso, à son manuscrit d'Oxford. Leurs deux Vies ne dépendent pas l'une de l'autre, Cinzio de Ceneda au contraire semble antérieur à la révision. Il aura lu le premier recueil de Pomponio.



Revenons en conclusion aux divers états de ce texte. Les remaniements montrent son succès. Ils coïncident avec l'influence du président de l'Académie. On la trouve non moins en un endroit inattendu, dans une bourgade du Frioul, qu'à l'Université de Bologne, orgueilleuse rivale de la Sapienza, et chez l'intéressant anonyme, dont nous ne savons où il a sa bibliothèque. C'est Leto qui est, peut-on dire, le premier auteur. Son manuscrit d'Oxford en donne le dernier état. Le Vat. lat. 3255 en avait le premier connu. Il importait de l'étudier exactement. Il ne sera plus inédit. Nous espérons qu'il sera assez expliqué.

Roma

Università Gregoriana

¹⁰⁶ Le texte dépend de Macrobe, *Sat.*, V 2, 4, éd. J. Willis, I (Leipzig 1970), p. 244.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *Vita Donatiana*, éd. J. Brummer, p. 5: ut Asinium... celebraret.

¹⁰⁸ Les mots entre guillemets sont encore de Macrobe, *Sat.*, V 2, 4-6, éd. Willis, *ibidem*.

¹⁰⁹ Voici les menus changements non déjà signalés: au 1 *Lucinio* A bien corrigé en *Licinio* par le copiste B; *Andico: Annico* A *Annicho* B; au 3 *M.: Margo* A *Marco* B; *dilexit: dilessit* B; *Milieno: Milenio* A *Pilieno* B; *Torone: Terone* AB; au 4 *Bucolicis: Buccolicis* A *Muccolicis* B; au 5 *Lydiam: Lidiam* B; au 8 *otio: in otio* AB; *uixit: vixit* A *vissit* B; au 9 *Daphnidis: Daffinidis* B; au 10: *sestertium centies: centum sestertiis* AB; au 11 *noluit pati: nec voluit* AB; au 14 *monumento: sepulchro* A *sepulgro* B; *Parthenope: Partenope* AB; au 15 *imbecilla: imbecilli* A *in'mecilli* B; *frequenter sputit: expuebatque* A *estuabatque* B; au 17 *copiosus fuit divinus* B (mots coupés dans la marge de A); au 19 *scripsit: scripsit etiam* B; *Ulixis* B (om. A); au 20 *monostichon: monasticon* AB.

Ann Moss

LATIN LITURGICAL HYMNS AND THEIR EARLY PRINTING HISTORY, 1470-1520

The subject of this article is the huge *corpus* of Christian Latin liturgical hymns assembled over eleven hundred years from the time of St Ambrose and to which additions were still being made both during and after the first half century of printing. The importance of hymns for both the ecclesiastical and the literary history of the medieval period has long been recognised. Exhaustive inventories have been compiled and their development fully documented¹. What happened to Latin hymns during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is much less well known but raises interesting questions in a wide variety of fields. The somewhat ambivalent status of the liturgical hymn makes it a highly sensitive test of change in the religious and cultural climate. Hymns are not Holy Writ, and so their language, form and use are not sacrosanct and can be adapted without inhibition to prevailing styles in poetry and devotion. In periods of critical change they can be rewritten and even replaced as a consequence of revolutions in literary taste or religious belief. On the other hand, the instinct to resist interference with familiar hymns is equally strong. In medieval Catholic Europe the Latin office-hymns held a well-entrenched position in the daily round of prayers prescribed for priests and members of religious orders; and by private reading and public recitation they were instilled into the consciousness of generations

¹ For a bibliography of medieval Latin hymn-writing and related matters, see R. W. Pfaff, *Medieval Latin Liturgy. A Select Bibliography* (Toronto, Buffalo and London, 1982); the best general histories of medieval hymns are F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*, second edition (Oxford, 1953), and J. Szövérfy, *A Concise History of Medieval Latin Hymnody* (Leyden, 1985). For a particularly sensitive analysis of their literary qualities see A. Michel, *In Hymnis et canticis. Culture et beauté dans l'hymnique chrétienne latine* (Louvain and Paris, 1976). The bibliography of Latin hymns after the fifteenth century is usually relegated to an appendix in the medieval inventories, but there is a valuable brief survey at the end of J. Szövérfy, *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung*, 2 vols, (Berlin, 1964-5), II, pp. 430-47.

of lay men and women as no other specimens of Latin literature ever were. This meant that although the Latin hymn was indeed to prove extraordinarily versatile and adaptable, it also constituted a strongly conservative element widely diffused in European culture at the close of the Middle Ages. This gives a special interest to hymn-publishing at this period, when tastes and attitudes were undergoing radical changes in response to the new modes of thinking and writing promoted by the humanists and in the wake of developments brought about by printing. The present article confines itself to this critical moment in the history of the Latin hymn, before supporters of Reform and Counter-Reform alike enrol the hymn in their service and its evolution is diversified. Our questions are about the way the humanists dealt with this most tenacious part of their unwanted heritage of medieval Latin poetry and about the effect of the printing-industry on the history and geography of hymn-publication.

In attempting to consider these issues, I have used the evidence provided by collections of office-hymns for all occasions of the liturgical year printed before 1520, and I make supporting reference to contemporary collections of sequences to be sung at mass. This does not provide a complete picture of hymn publication in the period. It leaves out of account not only hymns in manuscript but also hymns printed in breviaries and Books of Hours, and it should be remembered that breviaries, largely for local use within a particular diocese, formed a substantial part of the production of most early printers². Nor do I deal, except in parenthesis, with new hymns written between 1470 and 1520, although these were years in which Latin hymn-writing flourished with a vigour born of the piety of the *devotio moderna* and nourished by the humanists' enthusiasm for Latin verse-composition. Least of all am I able to determine which medieval hymns retained most popularity and where, although this would be an interesting study to undertake³. But the advantage of looking at hymnals is that the majority of them contain commentaries, and it is in the history of these commentaries,

² The standard bibliography of printed breviaries is H. Bohatta, *Bibliographie der Breviere, 1501-1850* (Leipzig, 1937): for the general history of the breviary see S. Bäumer, *Histoire du Bréviaire*, translated into French by R. Biron, 2 vols (Paris, 1905; Rome, 1967).

³ The basis for such a study is provided in C.U.J. Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum: catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l'église latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, 6 vols (Louvain, 1882-1921); this gives both manuscript and printed locations for the hymns it lists.

their rate of survival, the changes made to them, their appendices and their eventual replacements, that we can see most clearly how critical attitudes to the old hymns evolved. Moreover, the existence and evident popularity of hymnals point to a reading public for hymns beyond the community of professional religious bound to the daily recital of the offices and their hymns as appointed in the breviary. Here again, the ambivalent status of hymns makes them especially interesting. On the one hand, they are the public expression of a shared devotion, and it is clear that hymns were sung outside the cloister, at any rate by trained choirs on great occasions. Major Renaissance composers, Dufay, Palestrina and Victoria among them, wrote elaborate settings for the yearly cycle⁴. To what extent ordinary church congregations sang hymns it is difficult to say. The printed hymnals, none of which has any musical notation, do not give us any clues. However, it seems at least possible that performance in church may have made hymns the most sophisticated poems, and certainly the only Latin poems, accessible to the non-literate majority of the population. But, in addition to their possible congregational use, hymns are also lyric poems for private reading and meditation, and it is to this function that our plain, utilitarian hymnals, with their small format and their wordy commentaries seem to point. They made available to private readers the best of Christian Latin poetry and they also transmitted a tradition of religious meditation, but couched for the most part in a rather suspect Latinity and in a 'barbaric' combination of rhythm and rhyme which in the age of humanism threatened to make the traditional hymn an endangered or, at best, an inferior species.

The Medieval Heritage

Early printed hymn-books reproduce the diversity characteristic of their manuscript forerunners, both in regard to regional variations in the choice of hymns and in regard to the order in which they are printed. Order had always been a problem. Not only did varying liturgical uses impose certain choices and constraints, but an editorial decision was required about how to integrate three different sets of hymns: hymns for the offices of each day of the week; hymns for movable feasts and seasons of the church; hymns for feasts and saints' days fixed by the

⁴ See G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, revised edition (London, 1954).

calendar. Different compilers resolved the question in different ways, resulting in divergencies among the printed collections which can sometimes give a clue about the filiation of the different textual traditions which print begins to fix. The earliest printed hymn-books have arrangements which make them look quite unlike. On the one hand, the *Sequentie et hymni per totum annum*, a collection current in the Low Countries from 1487⁵, begins with hymns for vespers of each day of the week and continues with hymns for the liturgical year, without any annotation and with hymns and sequences printed as continuous prose. On the other hand, a contemporary hymn-collection first printed at Groningen well before 1480, and afterwards at Cologne, *De tempore et sanctis per totum annum hymnarius in metra ut ab Ambrosio, Sedulio Prudentio ceterisque doctoribus hymni sunt compositi* (BL), brings into play very different criteria. In this edition, the hymns are printed in verse-lines and the metre is designated at the head of each hymn. This stress on metrical points is intensified in a revised edition of this collection printed a little later at Deventer, *Hymni de tempore et de sanctis in metra noviter redacti* (BN), which gives a list of the hymns "not in the order in which they are sung by the Church, but by metre, beginning with those in iambs". Moreover, the editor is now explicit about the fact that he has corrected lines which are metrically faulty, "where the Church allows it", and where errors do remain he makes this clear. Right at the beginning of the printing history of hymns, we are made aware of standards of Latinity much at variance with tradition.

However, tradition continued to be mediated, not only by hymns corrected and uncorrected, but in the commentary which accompanies most hymnals surviving from the fifteenth century. Known as the *Aurea Expositio* or *Expositio Hymnorum*, ascribed to one 'Hilarius', and probably dating from the twelfth century, this commentary as it appears in print usually consists of about 83 hymns, sometimes more, with annotations, and in an arrangement different from either of the other fifteenth-century collections we have met so far⁶. The earliest hymnals printed in

⁵ Antwerp, 1487; Zwolle, n.d.; Deventer, 1490 (BN) and 1492; revised edition, Cologne, 1505 (BL); Deventer, 1507.

⁶ For the textual history of the *Expositio*, with particular reference to England, see H. Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen im englischen Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 1968); as far as I know, the only literary historian to take hymn-commentaries seriously is J.B. Allen, "Commentary as Criticism: Formal Cause, Discursive Form, and the Late Medieval Accessus", in *Acta Conventus neo-Latini Lovaniensis* (Munich, 1973), pp. 29-48; see also his *The Ethical Poetic of the Later Middle Ages. A Decorum of Convenient Distinction* (Toronto, Buffalo and London, 1982).

France all reproduce the *Aurea Expositio* in the most primitive of its printed forms⁷. A short preface locates the hymns within the categories supplied by the medieval *accessus*, defining the book's purpose in terms of the arrangement of its contents, its utility in terms of the knowledge it transmits about the nature of God, its place in the hierarchy of knowledge as belonging to contemplative religion, and the matter of the hymns it contains as essentially allegorical in intent, for nocturnal hymns speak of the darkness of ignorance and vice, and diurnal hymns of the light of God. The commentary, usually inserted between the stanzas of each hymn, is an explanation of the sense, sometimes, as in the case of religious terminology, by means of literal paraphrase and definition, but more often giving equivalents for words and phrases which are in effect allegorical extensions of their meaning. So in the Ambrosian hymn for the hour of cock-crow, *Eterne rerum conditor*, "eterne" is carefully explained in relation to "perpetuum", "sempiternum" and "temporale", and, similarly, "temporum tempora" is not only defined in context as "night and day", but related by analogy to other divisions in nature, the four seasons composing the year and the four elements composing man. But a purely figurative expression in the text, "preco diei", is not given the literal interpretation we would think appropriate for St Ambrose's classically derived periphrasis. Instead, 'Hilarius' by-passes the literal meaning, "the cock", to transfer the sense immediately to the realm of religious truth, reading "preco diei" allegorically as John the Baptist or Christ, just as later in the same hymn he identifies St Ambrose's "gallus" exclusively with Christ or John the Baptist and "lucifer" univocally with the good preacher urging sinners to active repentance:

(Hoc excitatus lucifer) i. quo domino predicante vel iohanne (lucifer) i. verus predicator lucem divine gratie ferens aliis; excitatus inquam (solvit) i. absolvit (polum caligine) i. animam fidelem ab omni nigredine vitiorum.

⁷ *Aurea expositio hymnorum una cum textu*, Paris, Caillaut, 1480 (BN), Levet, 1485 (BN), Levet, 1486 (BN), Levet, 1488 (BN), Caillaut, 1492 (BL), Ballingaut, 1494 (BL); Lyons, von Schultis, c. 1490 (BL), Mareschal and Chaussard, c. 1495; also at Burgos, 1493 (BN); Seville, 1499 (BL); Saragossa, 1502 (BL): A revised version of the Paris *Aurea Expositio* which adds seven hymns taken from a version published in Germany and is entitled *Expositio hymnorum per totum anni circulum* was issued at Paris by Bocard in 1496 (BN) and by Macé at Rouen in 1500 (BN), and possibly by Le Prince at Lyons c. 1507; a further revision of this edition published at Paris by Roce in 1512 (BN) and by Marnef and Petit in 1515, will be mentioned later.

The form of the commentary is the explanatory, word-for-word paraphrase typical of the grammatical 'enarratio' which the Renaissance humanists were to inherit from medieval exegesis and adapt to their own interests. But this commentary uses paraphrase to direct the reader's attention away from the residue of literal meaning St Ambrose had retained in his ambivalently signifying cock and morning-star, sailors and night-wanderers. Where St Ambrose had suggested metaphorical connotations by juxtaposing ideas of night and sleep with sin and sloth, our commentator provides a complete word-by-word rereading of the dawn scene, substituting a translation which turns it into a demonstration of the preaching of the light of Christ to sinners. To read in this way was to 'construe' the text knowledgeably and usefully, applying to the *corpus* of hymns the same mode of allegorical interpretation by which late medieval readers introduced systematic coherence into the more enigmatic texts of scripture and converted the fables of the pagans into expositions of Christian truth. That this mode of reading was still current practice in the late fifteenth century in Northern Europe is amply demonstrated by printed commentaries on a wide variety of texts. Our hymn-commentary conforms to a norm, and the number of re-editions is evidence of a secure market. Not only was it in demand in France, but a very slightly different version (presumably deriving from another manuscript tradition), with a number of additional hymns, was the standard hymnal for German-speaking countries in the later years of the fifteenth century and the first decade of the sixteenth⁸. Even clearer evidence for its popularity is the fact that, as we shall see later, subsequent editors influenced by recognisably humanist concerns still use 'Hilarius' as the basis of their editions. There was obviously a good sale for hymn-books and for our allegorising commentary, but whether primarily among clerics or among lay-people for devotional use, it is impossible to say. One clue about their public is provided by the title-page of some of the German editions of the *Expositio hymnorum* which advertise its useful-

⁸ *Expositio hymnorum cum notabili commento*, Cologne, Quentell, 1492 (BL, Bodleian, Wolfenbüttel); Haguenau, Gran, 1493 (BL, BN, Bodleian); Cologne, Quentell, 1494 (BL); Cologne, Quentell, 1496 (BL); Delft, Snellaert, 1496 (BL, BN, Bodleian, Wolfenbüttel); Reutlingen, Greyff, 1496 (BL, Bodleian); Basel, Furter, 1497 (BL, Bodleian, Wolfenbüttel); Basel, Furter, 1504 (BL, Wolfenbüttel, Selwyn College, Cambridge). A corrected and slightly revised text, *cum familiari commento*, was issued by Quentell at Cologne in 1500 (BN, Wolfenbüttel), 1504 (BL, Wolfenbüttel), and 1506 (BL). In 1496 Quentell had also published an edition of the *Expositio* arranged according to Sarum use specifically for the English market (BL).

ness to preachers wishing to use the appropriate hymns as a source for sermons for saints' days, and indeed parts of the commentary are couched in a style of address already suitable for a homily. Contemporary sermon-rhetoric made extensive use of allegorical interpretation and the hymn-book commentary would provide ready material for preachers, thus reaching an unlettered public as well as reinforcing the mental habits of pious readers.

The *Aurea Expositio* was by far the most frequently reprinted of medieval hymn-commentaries and, lying as it does between extremes in medieval exegesis, gives a fair indication of what the average late fifteenth-century reader of such material wanted to know. The extremes are represented by two other works which were printed in the early Renaissance, but on a much more restricted scale. One is the *Mam-motrectus*, compiled towards the middle of the fourteenth century by Giovanni Marchesini, a purely utilitarian manual instructing clerics in the sense and pronunciation of the Latin they read aloud and sang⁹. The section on the office-hymns is almost entirely devoted to explanations of vocabulary and syntax at the simplest literal level by means of synonyms and paraphrases, with grammatical notes. The work had been the chief manual for poorly-educated priests in the late Middle Ages, but, like all medieval grammars, it was superseded by more sophisticated humanist products. Nevertheless, the moves afoot for improving the intellectual attainments of the clergy in the first twenty years of the sixteenth century gave the work a new lease of life and, like the *Aurea Expositio*, it was to stimulate revision and reformulation on the part of humanist rhetoricians and grammatical reformers.

The other extreme of late medieval hymn-commentary is exemplified by the *enarrationes* of Dionysius the Carthusian, who died in 1471. His hymn-commentary was not printed until 1533, when it formed part of a publication of his complete works undertaken at Cologne, and it was to appear again in editions of the complete works printed at Paris from 1539¹⁰. At the heart of this commentary lies the allegorical conception

⁹ First printed at Mainz in 1470; there were numerous reprintings in the fifteenth century and then a lapse until it was briefly revived, with editions at Metz in 1509 and 1511 and at Paris in 1521.

¹⁰ In the 1539 edition, printed by Jean Petit, the hymn-commentary forms fols. 143-170 of the volume of commentaries in *omnes beati Pauli Epistolas*, reprinted at Paris in 1540, 1542, 1548, 1551; there is a modern edition, *Doctoris Ecstatici D. Dionysii Cartusiani opera minora* (Tournai, 1908), III, pp. 9-131. See V. Scholderer, "The Works of Dionysius Cartusianus" in *Fifty Essays in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century Bibliography*, edited by D.E. Rhodes (Amsterdam, 1966), pp. 271-274.

of reading which directed the form paraphrase had taken in the *Aurea Expositio*. But Dionysius works on a broader front, including more grammatical notes and brief definitions of metre, and he inserts his allegorical identifications into a complex texture of references to Scripture, exhaustively developing analogies between the language of the hymns and the language of the Bible and of the Fathers. Dionysius "throws light on the literal meaning" of the hymn *Eterne rerum conditor* by quoting at length from the *Hexaemeron* of its author, St Ambrose, where he describes the world waking at cock-crow; only then does Dionysius proceed to a 'more spiritual' explanation, identifying the world of night with the old Testament, day with the Gospel of Grace, "preco diei" with St John the Baptist, "lucifer" with Christ, and so on. This taste for fully elaborated explication, in contrast with the merely adequate translations of the *Aurea Expositio*, is evident also in the way Dionysius explores all possible areas of reference for the figurative expressions employed by the hymn-writers. So Mary, "maris stella", illumines and ornaments the heavens and she is the fixed point by which we are guided through the tempest of this life, as sailors navigate by the pole star;

Convenienti valde metaphora stella maris vocaris. Porro in primis stella merito appellaris, stella utique radiantissima coeli empyrei, quae totum illum orbem supermundanum, paradisum supremum, triumphantem Ecclesiam ineffabiliter ornas, pulchrificas, illustras, exhilas. Nec est ibi stella te pulchrior, nisi Unigenitus tuus, qui in Apocalypsi fatur: Ego sum genus et radix David, stella splendida et matutina. Deinde rite nominata es stella maris: quemadmodum enim stella illa firmamenti quae polus arcticus nuncupatur, stat quasi fixa immobilis, dirigens navigantes, ad cuius adspectum nautae in periculis consolantur, et quo se vertere debeant contemplantur; sic miseri viatores in hoc saeculo nequam tanquam in procellosissimo et inquietissimo oceano fluctuantes et periclitantes, ad te, o misericordissima advocata, o Mater dulcissima, o tutum fidelissimumque refugium, dirigunt in omni periculo desolatum mentis intuitum, et ex tui speculatione consolantur, respirant, confidunt, atque a te clementissime adspiciuntur, iuvantur, diriguntur, saepius ad portum pertingunt salutis perpetuae.

The *Aurea Expositio* is much more perfunctory about establishing referents for metaphorical expressions:

Intendit etiam auctor ipsam beatam virginem Mariam invocare ... Etiam laudare nos hortatur et glorificare hunc diem [the feast of the Annunciation]: propter hoc quod evasimus de dominio diaboli per ipsam: et venimus per fidem et gratiam dei ad regna celorum. Et innuit

hoc per simile faciendo istam comparationem. Sicut enim stella maris prestat ducatum ipsis nautis ut veniant ad portum: ita per ducatum virginis Marie veniemus ad portum i. ad christum.

The difference in style of exposition between the two commentaries is indicative of the different purposes which underlie them. The more clearly didactic *Aurea Expositio* has affinities with sermon literature; Dionysius is working within a contemplative tradition fed by meditation on the plural meanings of texts and often slips into the copious language of ecstatic admiration.

If the *Mammotrectus* was too simple for the late fifteenth-century reader of hymns, Dionysius was perhaps too complex. But there was yet another medieval mode of interpretation applicable to hymn-writing which did find a readership in the period. The early printing history of the *corpus* of medieval sequences is not dissimilar from that of the hymns and indeed, as in one of our unannotated editions from the Low Countries mentioned previously, they were sometimes published together¹¹. However, the accompanying commentary, which first appeared in an edition by Gran at Hagenau in 1489 (BL, Wolfenbüttel), represents rather later developments in medieval exegesis than does the *Aurea Expositio* and is a much more rigorously systematic exposition of the allegorical mode¹². The rigorous approach also extends to the presentation of the material. A section called 'ordo' giving a literal, word-for-word paraphrase generally precedes the commentary proper, which in turn is distinguished from a third section, 'termini', which provides rudimentary grammatical help. It is the middle section, the interpretation of sense, that is by far the longest and most important. In form it follows the *quaestio*, supplying a series of replies to specific

¹¹ For the origin and development of the sequence, see Raby, *Christian-Latin Poetry*. Although often similar in content, sequences were always carefully distinguished from hymns, both by their use (they were sung at mass, whereas hymns properly belong to the offices) and by their form (a rhymed, rhythmical stanza-pattern which had become standard for sequences by the fifteenth century). Because sequences developed later than hymns, and were never quantitative in metre, the preponderance of distinctly 'medieval' characteristics of language and style is much greater than in the hymn *corpus*.

¹² *Textus sequentiarum cum commento*; also printed without mention of place in 1489 (BN) and at Reutlingen, Greyff, 1490 (BL, Bodleian). An edition with some added sequences, *Textus sequentiarum cum optimo commento*, was published at Cologne, Quentell, c. 1492 (BL), Strasburg, c. 1495 (BL, Wolfenbüttel); Delft, Snellaert, c. 1496 (BL); Cologne, Quentell, c. 1496 (Wolfenbüttel). The most marked difference between the publishing histories of sequences and hymns is the apparent lack of early editions of the sequences from France, Spain and Italy.

questions that might be raised by the text. So, to answer the question: in what manner was Christ raised from the dead? the commentator replies with five adverbs supported by appropriate Biblical quotations. The sequences are also made to yield strict syllogistic arguments, as well as meanings aligned to the four senses of Biblical exegesis, not to mention patterns of divisions and distinctions familiar from late medieval rhetoric. All this is reinforced by quite lengthy explanations of theological issues, with quotations from authorities, and by retellings of saints' lives in their more flamboyant versions. The function of the commentator is not only to explain and interpret, but to generate patterns from his text, be they patterns of parallel meanings or patterns of words and concepts arrayed in lists which cohere in sound and sense. Even the letters of a single name, MARIA, can be made to produce a rhymed distinction: Mediatrix, Auxiliatrix, Reparatrix, etc. This is medieval rhetoric at its furthest remove from humanist philology and from the humanist schoolroom. Some slight attempt was made to respond to a closer interest in the grammatical analysis of the texts when this edition of the sequences was revised a second time at Cologne in about 1499¹³. Further notes were appended to the third section of the commentary, giving much more thorough parsing, expositions of grammatical rules and explanations of the etymology of words and derivation of compounds. Neither this nor the previous versions of this edition show any interest in the rhythmical structure of the sequences and they print them out as prose.

The editions of hymns and sequences printed in the fifteenth century and in the first decade of the sixteenth century indicate that there was an established public for these texts and for the two medieval commentaries which accompanied them. Our inventory of editions (but it must be far from complete) suggests that this public was perhaps better established in some geographical regions than others. The initiative for publishing in the field is taken in the Low Countries and rapidly extends to Northern France and German-speaking territories, with sporadic involvement

¹³ *Textus sequentiarum cum luculentissima tam sententiarum quam vocabulorum interpretatione* (or, on some title-pages, *cum expositione lucida ac facili*), Cologne, Quentell, c. 1499 (BL), 1504 (BL, Wolfenbüttel), 1506 (BL); Basel, Furter, c. 1504 (BL, Selwyn College, Cambridge). There had already been signs of a change of attitude in Quentell's previous edition of the original version; the commentary he had commissioned for his additional sequences was a sober paraphrase, interspersed with grammatical notes and with little or no reference to saints' legends.

from Spain; but it is only German presses which go on to publish the sequences. When we come to examine the interest taken in hymns and sequences by editors with leanings towards the concerns of humanist scholarship, we shall discover that the geographical trends of hymn-publishing are to some extent confirmed. However, at that stage, we shall also have to take into account countries which have so far lagged behind, Italy, England and Poland.

Humanist Redirections

Once again it is to the Low Countries that we must look for the first moves in a new direction. The first printed edition of the hymns with a commentary by a living scholar is that of Hermannus Torrentinus, whose annotations to both hymns and sequences were published at Zwolle in 1499¹⁴. The base text for his edition of the hymns is the unannotated *Hymni de tempore et de sanctis in metra noviter redacti* printed slightly earlier at Deventer, which, as we have already noted, showed evidence of humanist sensibilities alert to metrical niceties. The brief annotations which Torrentinus appends are a striking contrast to the *Aurea Expositio* and to the old commentary on the sequences. His approach to hymns and sequences alike is the explanatory paraphrase, but the points of reference on which explanation depends are no longer located in the medieval language of allegory and typology, but in the repertory of classical usage provided by the humanist scholarship he had already exercised in compiling an encyclopedia and annotating Virgil. So in *Ave maris stella* his explanation of "maris stella" derives the appellation "star of the sea" from the Hebrew meaning of "Maria"; next he states that the star of the sea is so called because it gives guidance to sailors, and that poets call it "arctos" or "ursa circa polum arcticum";

¹⁴ *Hymni et sequentie cum diligenti difficiliorum vocabulorum interpretatione omnibus et scholasticis et ecclesiasticis cognitu necessaria*, reprinted at Zwolle, c. 1505; Antwerp, van Berghen, c. 1506 (Wolfenbüttel); Deventer, van Breda, 1506 (Wolfenbüttel); Cologne, Quentell, 1509 (BL); Cologne, de Werdena, c. 1510 (Wolfenbüttel); Cologne, Quentell, 1513, (Wolfenbüttel); Deventer, 1516 and 1520. Later, slightly revised editions, *Hymni et prose ecclesiastice* were published at Cologne in 1523 (Wolfenbüttel) and 1536 (Selwyn College, Cambridge). Torrentinus (Herman van der Beeke, c. 1450-1520), an associate of the Brethren of the Common Life, taught at Zwolle and at Groningen; he published commentaries on Virgil at Deventer in 1496 and 1502, as well as his much reprinted *Elucidarius carminum ... seu vocabularius poeticus* in 1498. Biographical details on Torrentinus and most of our hymn-commentators are to be found in *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, edited by P. G. Bietenholz, 3 vols (Toronto 1985-6).

and finally he concludes that the sense of "mites fac" near the end of the hymn is best illustrated by a line from Horace: "Nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit". The Latin of the hymns is deemed to be the Latin of classical poets, and the hymns themselves become a text-book demonstrating correct grammar, correct usage and nice rhetorical figures to school-boys who may or may not be destined for the Church. Even the late sequences, with their more strident 'barbarisms', manage to provide lessons in vocabulary and grammar, while the lives of the saints play a very subdued rôle in the exposition, and the complexities of medieval rhetoric none at all. This hymn-commentary is redolent of the humanist schoolroom, and indeed the closing pages put it firmly in that context, filling in with a short dialogue between two school-boys 'de rebus puerilibus' in Latin and Dutch and a poem about Orpheus seeking Eurydice in the underworld, which is made to yield the tritest of observations on the over-hastiness of lovers.

Torrentinus exemplifies the fusion of piety and philology which sparks the beginning of the Northern Renaissance with a religious fervour fuelled by the excitement of appropriating the style of verbal expression recovered by the humanists. He himself wrote hymns, converting the language of the poets to a truer and a finer sense, and his most frequently printed work, his *Elucidarius carminum*, is an exploration of the language the poets used, useful not only for students of literature, but for students of the Scriptures, who may "see here as in a mirror the location of the places where the saints and holy men lived and died". The circles in which Torrentinus moved must have brought him within the sphere of influence of the director of the school at Deventer, Alexander Hegius (1433-1498), another hymn-writer not untouched by southern humanism. They may also have brought him into contact with his countryman Johannes Murmellius (1480-1517) by whom we have religious poems and little work *De Hymnis ecclesiasticis*, which forms a chapter of his book on metrics, *Artis versificatorie rudimenta*, Cologne, Quentell, 1515 (Wolfenbüttel). Murmellius is primarily interested in the history of hymn-writing, to which he contributes a list of hymns and their authors from Ambrose to the present day, especially commending the hymns of his contemporaries, G. F. Pico della Mirandola, Rodolphus Langius and Theophilus Brixianus. His other main interest is in their metrical form. He lays great stress on classically authenticated regularity and discourages his pupils very firmly from imitating any

hymns which deviate from this norm¹⁵. The fondness for hymns shared by Hegius, Torrentinus and Murellius throws light on the force behind the initiatives in hymn-publishing taken in the Low Countries. They are a product of the spirituality of the Brethren of the Common Life, with its centres at Deventer and Zwolle, and more particularly of that period at the end of the fifteenth century when the literary enthusiasm caught from Italy began to permeate the Brethren's schools and communities and create the intellectual environment in which the young Erasmus learnt his Latin rhetoric from Italian books and tried his hand at writing Latin hymns¹⁶.

Although the edition of hymns and sequences by Torrentinus was first published in Holland, it was later taken up by Quentell at Cologne, which, as we have seen, was the centre of German hymn-publishing. More evidence of German interest in hymns and of a much more aggressively humanist critical engagement with the problems they presented is provided by the edition and commentary, *Liber hymnorum in metra noviter redactorum*, published in 1501 by Henricus Bebelius (born 1472) at Otmar's press in Tübingen, where he taught (Selwyn College, Cambridge). Already in 1501 Bebelius feels obliged to be apologetic. The new literary tastes, he says, are dismissive of hymns, "res leviuscula et inculta". And indeed he admits that the texts are full of errors, not least in metre. The professional expertise of the teacher of rhetoric is urgently required to emend mistakes, restore correct quantities to the metre, and so render the hymns an apt vehicle for teaching good Latin. For Bebelius is a highly articulate advocate of the benefits to a Christian education of a culture formed by the rhetoric and poetry of ancient

¹⁵ Accounts of the life and works of Hegius and of Murellius, as well as of the German hymnologists we encounter later, are to be found in G. Ellinger, *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur Deutschlands im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol I: *Italien und der deutsche Humanismus in der neulateinischen Lyrik* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929). Murellius and his contemporaries were quite prepared to follow through the musical consequences of their insistence on regular classical prosody and could envisage and indeed even write music based on quantitative measure. Murellius himself set an epigram by Martial to music for part-singing (*Protrepticus studiosorum poetices*, Wittenberg, 1533); P. Tritonius, in his *Harmoniae super Odis Horatii* (Augsburg, 1507), had already devised part-settings for all the odes of Horace, and his *Melopoiae* of the same year, published under the aegis of the humanist, Conradus Celtes, puts to music poems in hexameters, elegiacs and lyric metres, including liturgical hymns, "secundum naturas et tempora syllabarum et pedum".

¹⁶ This conclusion is confirmed by scattered observations in J. IJsewijn, "The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries" in *Itinerarium Italicum*, edited by H. A. Oberman and T. A. Brady (Leyden, 1975), pp. 193-301.

literature, and in particular of the intellectual training promoted by the Italian humanists. Pius II, Petrarch and Mantuan typify the excellence of modern religious poetry; the grammar-book of Alexander [de Villa Dei] must give place immediately to linguistic studies based on the ancient poets according to the methods of Italian scholarship. The notes Bebelius appends to the hymns put into practice the programme of this 'apologia et defensio poetice ac oratorie maiestatis': hymns are assigned to their proper metrical categories (including 'rhythmus', which Bebelius defines and includes among his categories); faults in quantity are corrected by suggested emendations; vocabulary and points of grammar are explained with reference to Priscian and modern manuals of good Latin usage, such as Valla and Mancinellus. Bebelius is very conscious of a battle in progress against medieval barbarism, in which he joins on the hymn-front by devoting the last folios of his book to a fairly systematic correction of the *Mammotrectus* on matters of vocabulary, grammar and orthography.

The extreme position adopted by Bebelius is not typical and his edition appears to have been printed only once. Other German editors produced editions of both hymns and sequences which are more characteristic of an age in which Italian rhetoric had not in fact ousted medieval allegory, but lived with it in a sometimes fertile, sometimes uneasy symbiosis. Jacobus Wimpheling's interest in hymns dates back to his years at Heidelberg at the close of the fifteenth century, but his name is not associated with an actual edition until 1513, when a volume containing hymns and sequences was printed at Strasburg¹⁷. The prefatory material introducing the hymns in this edition had already formed the substance of a much earlier publication by Wimpheling, his *De Himnorum et Sequentiarum auctoribus Generibusque Carminum que in*

¹⁷ *Sequentiarum luculenta interpretatio: nedum scholasticis sed et ecclesiasticis cognitu necessaria: per Joan. adelphum physicum Argentinum collecta*; followed by *Hymni de tempore et sanctis: in eam formam qua a suis autoribus scripti sunt denuo redacti: et secundum legem carminis diligenter emendati atque interpretati*, Strasburg, Knobloch, 1513 (BL, BN, Wolfenbüttel, Selwyn College, Cambridge); reprinted by the same printer in 1516 and 1519. For Wimpheling (Jakob Wimpfeling, 1450-1528) see the edition of his *Adolescentia* by O. Herding (Munich, 1965); the background to hymn-printing at Strasbourg is described in F. Rapp, *Réformes et Réformation à Strasbourg: Eglise et société dans le diocèse de Strasbourg (1450-1525)* (Paris, 1974) and in M. U. Chrisman, *Lay Culture and Learned Culture. Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480-1599* (New Haven and London, 1982). Neither of these two books connects the emergence of congregational hymn singing in the Reformed Churches of Strasbourg in the years 1520-1525 with the interest in hymns demonstrated by publications there in the previous decade.

Hymnis inveniuntur of 1499. Like Bebelius, Wimpeling supports the contribution that a training in the arts of literary expression can make to a proper understanding of religious texts, but whereas Bebelius takes lessons from the Latin classics and Italian humanists, Wimpeling promotes the paedagogic virtues of the hymns themselves. In particular, he notes that the diversity of metre they employ makes them apt vehicles for teaching Latin prosody, while the grammatical and rhetorical skills acquired from studying them will in turn lead to a sharper, more sophisticated and more accurate reading of hymns as texts of Christian spirituality and therefore to a deeper piety. There follow a list of hymn-writers and a short history of the genre (which, incidentally, alludes to hymn-singing by choirs in churches during the celebration of mass); a list of hymns arranged in categories according to the metre used; a description of the various lyric measures; and a poem by Mantuan “de prisca hymnorum origine”. To this material the 1513 edition of the hymns adds the preface to the *Aurea Expositio* and then proceeds with text and commentary in the version *cum notabili commento* first printed at Cologne in 1492, although there is some variation of the order in which the hymns are placed, so as to bring the edition into line with Roman use. There are notes designating the metre of each hymn, which do not occur in previous editions of the *Aurea Expositio*, and the wording of the commentary has been clarified in places, with occasional interpolations which bring the annotations up to date with references to contemporary sources of information: the note on a Christmas hymn, “magus est astrologus”, for example, now continues “hinc ... producta est ars magica. De qua vide Ioannem Picum Mirandulanum in apologia”. At the conclusion of each hymn for which they are available are added the grammatical and explanatory notes of Torrentinus, appropriated without acknowledgement.

The 1513 compilation brings together the main lines by which our editions so far have approached the hymns: metrical analysis; allegorising paraphrase; explanation of grammar and diction by reference to classical usage. The diversity of interests for which this edition caters is well illustrated by the notes to *Vexilla regis prodeunt*. On the one hand, the commentary taken from the *Aurea Expositio* is concerned to work into its paraphrase a level of reading which establishes analogies between the signs displayed in Christ’s passion and the sacraments of the Church; on the other hand, the paragraph from Torrentinus, merely labelled “vocabula”, concentrates on the linguistic process by which the

word “purpura”, a shell-fish, is transferred to dyed cloth and then to blood. The importance of presenting a correct text and eliminating metrical irregularities is part of Wimpfeling’s thinking in the liminary material, but not so evident in the edition itself, which reproduces the text of the edition of the hymns *cum notabili commento*. It is hard to say how much Wimpfeling himself was involved in the preparation of the 1513 edition, but he was in Strasburg at the time and in the same year there is a Strasburg printing of his *Castigationes locorum in canticis ecclesiasticis et divinis officiis depravatorum*, of which the preface is dated 1500. It may have been meant to be used in conjunction with the 1513 edition of the hymns, which prints a good number of the ‘errors’ to which this little book draws attention and for which it suggests emendations (Wimpfeling seems to have worked with the first edition of the *Aurea Expositio*, some of whose more palpable mistakes were already corrected in the edition *cum notabili commento*, which was used for the 1513 hymnal). Wimpfeling states that corrections should ideally be made on the evidence of manuscript readings, although, like the general run of contemporary textual editors, what he actually does is to identify what seem to him to be errors and infelicities of grammar and metre, and then regularise them by conjecture. The criteria he recommends are those which properly distinguish between “vera” and “falsa”, “metrica” and “prosaica”, “elegantia” and “rustica”; solecisms and barbarisms have no place in the praise of God.

The immediate occasion for the publication of this compilation of hymn-commentaries with Wimpfeling’s preface was probably the companion edition of sequences completed by Wimpfeling’s Strasburg associate, Johannes Adelphus (Johan Adolph Müling) in the previous year and then printed and bound with the new hymnal in 1513. The sequences are presented in much the same manner as the hymns, preceded by a short paragraph from Wimpfeling’s *De Himnorum et Sequentiarum auctoribus* naming some of the authors and defining the genre: “sequentie autem omnes carent lege metri: ideoque vocantur etiam prose”. Adelphus reprints the familiar medieval commentary on the sequences, but with some omissions and some rewriting to make the vocabulary less scholastic. He also occasionally adds the same sort of contemporary references as we noted in the hymn-book revision, including at least one allusion to his own translation into German of Sebastian Brant’s *De laude Hierosolymae*. The most thorough revision this edition makes is to the sequence-commentary’s notes on grammar

and linguistic usage. The new explanations mostly derive from Torrentinus, and there are additional references to classical models of expression, very much in the same vein as Torrentinus.

This edition denotes a lively interest in hymns among members of the humanist circle of Brant and Wimpheling at Strasburg, and this is further demonstrated by a collection of original hymns published there in the same year, the *Odorum spiritualium liber* of Jacobus Montanus (c. 1460-1534), a friend of Murmellius and like him educated by the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer. This is a hymnal for seasons and saints' days, but, as the title advertises, couched in strict lyric metre and in language which owes more to classical rhetoric than to medieval typology. In France too there is a similar conjunction of hymn-publishing and hymn-writing. When publishers at Paris adopt the Strasburg edition of the traditional hymns, in 1515¹⁸, they are catering for the sort of readership which had not only been buying the previous editions of the *Aurea Expositio* (reprinted there as recently as 1512 and in 1515) but perhaps also the volumes of original hymns by Petrus Burrus, printed at his executors' request between 1505 and 1507 and meticulously annotated by Jodocus Badius¹⁹. The poetic manner of Burrus could be said to represent an early stage in the transition between the medieval and the modern style of hymn. Not as rhetorically florid as Montanus, he introduces classical allusions mainly to refute them in a Latin of good pedigree, but sober style, whose chief ornaments are still figures of accumulation, comprised of lists of epithets and nouns often elaborating and explicating metaphors in the manner of the medieval commentaries.

¹⁸ The Strasburg compilation, but apparently only the volume of hymns and not the sequences, appeared in a Paris edition in 1515 (BN), and was reprinted there by Bignon for Aubry in 1518; entitled, like previous Paris hymnals, *Expositio hymnorum per totum anni circulum*, it included a few extra hymns taken from an earlier French version of the *Aurea Expositio*. Another edition of this version of the Strasburg hymnal, revised and corrected by J. Amelius, was published at Paris in 1519 by J. du Pré and Aubry (BN) and at Caen in 1530.

¹⁹ *Paeanes quinque festorum divae virginis mariae*, Paris, Badius, 1505; *Cantica de omnibus festis domini*, Paris, Badius, 1506; *Hymni et cantica de festis sanctorum*, Paris, Badius, 1507. Burrus (Pierre Bury, 1427/30-1504), an associate of Gaguin, was in Italy in 1464 and (?) 1475 before returning to Amiens and must have been one of the first French poets to adopt an Italianate style of hymn-writing. For Burrus in Rome see J. IJsewijn, "Rome en de humanistische literatuur", *Academiae Analecta. Mededelingen Kon. Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren*, 47 (1985), n. 1, pp. 25-73. For the intellectual background to hymn-publishing at Paris in these years, see A. Renaudet, *Pré-renaissance et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517)*, second edition (Paris, 1953).

So "Ave maris stella" is translated into elegant, poetic Latin and then amplified as follows:

Sidus ave pelagi: velum: ratis: anchora: portus:
 Spes: via: dux: requies: valva salutis ave.

(*Paeanes*, fol LXXXIX)

At Lyons, the other main printing centre in France, Bevilaqua, following his Parisian counterparts, reprinted the Strasburg compilation of hymns in 1516 and 1519; and Lyons also had produced a notable collection of new religious poems, published by Sacon in 1507, the *Poemata nova in laudem nostrae sanctae fidei catholicae edita* of Nicolas Horius (Nicolas Hory, a theologian based at Rheims and a correspondent of Bovelles). These poems in elegiacs and sapphics, which Horius calls 'orationes' and 'odae' rather than hymns, are an interesting case. Not only are they rigorously classical in vocabulary and style, but they are written almost as dramatic monologues for men and women in particular situations. We can see here how the fusion of Christian subject-matter with a close imitation of the style of the classical ode may turn the generalised language of the hymn into the intimate, personal mode of expression of the religious lyric.

Badius was already a practised hand at editing hymns before he came to publish his commentary on Burrus. In 1502 he had been instrumental in revising commentaries both on hymns and on sequences for editions which subscribed to Sarum use and were therefore designated for the English market in liturgical texts²⁰. In the early years of printing this was largely supplied from presses in France and, still looking to France in 1502, the publisher J. Baudoin, based in London, had asked Badius to provide a new commentary for editions of the hymns and sequences he was having printed by Bocard at Paris. What Badius did in each case was to revise and add to commentaries which had already accompanied an earlier edition for Sarum use, first printed by Pynson in London in 1497 (BL). In the case of the sequences Badius's anonymous predecessor had supplied purely explanatory paraphrases, working almost solely within the literal sense, and occasionally using English translation. The improvements Badius offers remedy deficiencies in the previous commentary, which often failed to tackle more abstruse vocabulary, especially

²⁰ *Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usum Sarum*, Paris, A. Bocard for J. Baudoin, 1502 (BL); *Expositio sequentiarum secundum usum Sarum*, Paris, A. Bocard for J. Baudoin, 1502.

Greek-derived words. It is, as he says in his preface to the sequences, a more accurate guide for modern, linguistically more sophisticated students, learning "cum sanctis litteris etiam latinis". In his preface to the hymns Badius reverses his approach, not so much advocating good Latinity as decrying contemporary trends in education which made seven-year old boys experts on the career of Aeneas but totally ignorant about the dates of the liturgical year, the hymns to be sung on them, and the true sense of those hymns. His remedy for this failure is his edition of the hymns, which reprints the *Aurea Expositio* commentary, already current in the Quentell version in editions designed for England, and supplements it with some notes of his own on matters of metre, grammar and the etymology of words. Badius seems to be trying to strike a nice balance in his Sarum editions between the spiritual and the literary education of the "adolescentes" to whom they are specifically addressed. Like other humanist commentators on the hymns, Torrentinus, Bebelius and Wimpfeling, he certainly intends the texts he edits to be used in the classroom²¹.

France may have been a source of hymn diffusion to Spain as well as to England, although the filiation of editions is particularly hard to trace. The earliest Spanish editions of the *Aurea Expositio* (Burgos, 1493; Seville, 1499; Saragossa, 1502) seem to be virtual reprints of the earliest French editions. The source of subsequent Spanish editions is the *Aurea expositio hymnorum una cum textu* edited by Jacobus Alora and published at Salamanca in 1501, reprinted at least five times before 1512, in particular at Logroño in 1506 (BL) and by Caneto at Naples in 1510 (BL, Selwyn College, Cambridge). This again reproduces the early French version of the *Aurea Expositio* but labels the metre of each hymn and provides a fair amount of additional, mainly grammatical annotation which reappears in Spanish editions compiled by Petrus Nuñez Delgado (died 1535) for example in his *Aurea hymnorum totius anni*

²¹ Badius's editions of the hymns and sequences were frequently reprinted in London up to 1518 (BL) and also in Rouen for distribution in England; his hymn annotations also had some currency in France, some of them being incorporated into an edition of the *Aurea Expositio* printed in Paris by De La Barre and Roce in 1512 (BN) and again in 1515 by Marnef and Petit and entitled *Expositio hymnorum per totum anni circulum diligentius ab ascensio recognitorum*; Roce also published an edition of the Sarum annotations on the sequences, *Expositio sequentiarum sive prosarum quae ad laudem dei in missa ante evangelium totum per annum cantantur*, 1510 (BN). English manuscripts of the *Aurea Expositio* are described in H. Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen*, which includes a brief survey of editions printed for England (pp. 194-206).

expositio, Seville, c. 1515 (BL). Delgado states that he has added to the collection from hymns in the Seville breviary and presents his edition as a counterweight to the primarily secular disciplines in which the young are trained. His annotations are meant for use at an elementary stage of language study and for poorly learned clerics. And indeed the notes he adds to those of Alora look at the hymns from the point of view of a grammatical expositor, occasionally suggesting corrections to the metre, but concentrating on explaining the literal sense of the vocabulary and on defining usage, with illustrations from classical writers and from Perotus and Calepinus. In this he is continuing the project of relating the language of the hymns to the whole of classical literature, which Alora seems to have started but discontinued early in his edition. Another Spanish editor, Antonius Nebrissensis (Antonio de Lebrija, c. 1441-1522), to whom Delgado refers as "magister meus", was also at work on the hymns, but his interest was exclusively in textual correction. His edition, published at least ten times before 1520, variously at Saragossa, Logroño and Burgos, including an edition at Saragossa in 1520, *Aurea expositio ... ab Antonii Nebrissensis castigatione fideliter transcripta* (BL), reproduces the *Aurea Expositio* without additional notes but with a preface specifying errors in the traditional text of the hymns and with a text which corrects them²².

The Spanish evidence indicates a fairly thorough humanist overhaul both of the texts of the hymns and of the traditional commentary. One might expect the same sort of thing to occur in Italy. In fact, the information I have collected so far suggests indifference, or at least a large degree of isolation from the activity taking place in the rest of Europe. The *Aurea Expositio* commentary was published in Italy in an edition of the hymnal arranged for Roman use, but although it is basically the same as the commentary current in Northern Europe, the Italian version belongs to a very different manuscript tradition from those which reached print elsewhere²³. Much of the phraseology is different, but the same points are made, perhaps with rather more support from Scripture. However, Italian attitudes to the hymns are not

²² For the careers of the grammarian Nebrissensis and his disciple, Delgado, see M. Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, 2 vols (Mexico and Buenos Aires, 1950; original French edition, Paris, 1937).

²³ *Expositio pulcherrima hymnorum per annum secundum Curiam*, Venice, 1513 (BL, Selwyn College, Cambridge), 1515 (BL) and 1524 (BL); Ancona, 1515 (Selwyn College, Cambridge).

to be discovered in editions of the medieval *corpus*. The concepts and diction prevailing among their potential readership in Italy had by now been so radically reconstituted by the rhetorical practice of humanist thinkers that nothing less than a total rewriting was really viable. And there is plenty of evidence of attempts to replace the traditional hymnal, with its disconcertingly faulty metrics and rustic language, by collections of religious poems more attuned to the expectations and sensibilities of readers educated to the standards of classical literature. Most notable among these perhaps was the *De sacris diebus* of Mantuan, which is a hymnal in classical style, ordered according to the Christian year. The problem of inventing an acceptable poetic expression of religious faith is a constant preoccupation of Italian Latin writers in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. We have already heard a Murmellius and a Bebelius talk admiringly of the efforts of G.F. Pico and of Mantuan himself. How far the pious in general were involved in such issues is doubtful, especially as the humanist hymns were essentially literary products, meant to be read and highly unsuitable for singing. However, the movement against the medieval hymns was not confined in its effects to a sophisticated élite or even to the educated priests who, it was claimed, were reduced to laughter at the bad Latin they were forced to get their tongues round. It nearly swept away the traditional hymns altogether when in 1525, at the instigation of the Pope and as part of a projected reform of the Roman Breviary, Zacharias Ferrerius (1470-1530) produced a replacement hymn-book which was both singable and as ornamented in its style as any humanist could wish²⁴. Even though this was not destined to last in use more than ten years, it is symptomatic of the attitude to hymns in Italy, an attitude which a hundred years later was to impose more discreet but much longer-lasting changes on the old hymn-texts²⁵.

However, as yet elsewhere in Europe, it is the mood of accommodation between the old and new styles that predominates. Nowhere is this

²⁴ *Zachariae Ferrerii Vincent ... Hymni novi ecclesiastici iuxta veram metri et latinitatis normam a beatiss. patre Clemente VII. Pont. Max. ut in divinis quisque eis uti possit approbati*, Rome, 1525.

²⁵ Missing from our account is the history of hymn-books in Eastern Europe. Evidence for this is available: *Expositio hymnorumque interpretatio ex doctoribus in gymnasio Cracoviensi pro iuniorum eruditione ac eorum in sacris litteris institutione conflata*, edited by Michael Vratislaviensis (Michael Falkener), Cracow, 1516; also an edition of the sequences by the same editor, Cracow, 1530. Unfortunately the British Library copies of both these books were destroyed in the war.

better illustrated than in France, in the most influential hymn-commentary published in our period. The author was Jodocus Clichtoveus and his commentary is to be found in his *Elucidatorium ecclesiasticum ad officium ecclesiae pertinentia planius exponens*, Paris, 1515/6²⁶. With this book our hymns are brought into the heart of contemporary debate, for Clichtoveus squarely faces the problems of interpretation they raise and he writes his commentary specifically for the education of the parish clergy, an area in which the Evangelicals (the pre-schismatic reformers) were pressing the need for improvement. The commentary is largely independent of the older traditions whose fortunes we have been following, except for the initial summaries of each hymn, which it has in common with the commentary of Dionysius the Carthusian. Nevertheless, Clichtoveus has inherited the twofold approach to the hymns which characterises the products of most early Renaissance revisions of the medieval commentaries: he writes both as a grammatical scholar, to clarify the literal sense of his texts, and as a religious exegete, to discover their spiritual import. But, starting afresh, and not merely building up accretions, he is able to operate from a basis of clearly-defined and coherent relationships between his two rôles. As a grammatical critic he addresses himself to the metrical form of his poems, analysing it, often with reference to the *Ars versificatoria* of Despauterius, and, where the sense and metre seem to demand it, proposing emendations to the 'received text' his edition reproduces (i.e. the hymns as printed at Paris with the earliest version of the *Aurea Expositio*). As a grammarian also, Clichtoveus provides a detailed explanation of the literal sense of every hymn, by means of a stylish paraphrase very different from the word-by-word equivalents of the older commentaries. So in the third stanza of *Aeterne rerum conditor*, Lucifer rises a little after cock-crow:

Stella illa matutina quae solis exortum suo splendore ut nuncius
praevenit, humano vulgarique more hic dicitur excitari per ipsum diei

²⁶ The text of the hymns together with the commentary forms the first part of this work, which is a careful exposition of the sense of the liturgy for ill-educated priests who do not understand the meaning of the Latin words they utter; the fourth part is devoted to the sequences. The whole work was reprinted eight times up until 1558, at Paris and at Basel, and the sections on hymns and sequences in an abbreviated version at Venice in 1555. For the place of the *Elucidatorium* in the context of the rest of the work of Clichtoveus, see J.P. Massaut, *Josse Clichtove, l'humanisme et la réforme du clergé*, 2 vols (Paris, 1968); on the hymns, see R.E. Messenger, "Jodocus Clichtoveus, Renaissance Hymnologist", *Classical Folia* 11 (1956), 18-37.

praeconem, quasi prius sopore fuisset depressus, et gallicantu excitus se praepararet ad ortum, quoniam paulo post tempus gallicantus, lucifer exoritur, et caelum ipsum nocturna caligine purgat.

(Basel, 1517, fol. 7)

At the level of the purely literal sense, the meaning of words and figurative expressions is illustrated by frequent references to the language of the Latin poets, whom Clichtoveus often quotes approvingly for their elegance, that linguistic and stylistic virtue so prized by humanist rhetoricians. But there is another level of discourse, unknown to the ancients, which is proper to Christian writers alone, and that is reached by transport through metaphor “per metaphoram ... a corporalius ad spiritualia tendens” (fol. 10). St Ambrose’s descriptions of the passing from night to day and of the cock-crow

sensibiliter ad litteram atque corporaliter primum intelligenda sunt ... Deinde vero ad spiritualem transferenda sunt intelligentiam, et in mystico accipienda sensu quo nox et tenebrae, peccatum, somnus vero, torporem et inertiam in peccato signat, lux autem divina divinae gratiae fulgorem indicat. Et gallus Christum, eius vero cantus vocem Christi insinuat, nos per evangelium et doctrinam apostolicam excitantis, ut excusso torpore noxio ad opus bonum evigilemus et exurgamus.

(fol. 7)

To illuminate the literal sense of the hymns we must go to the works of pagan poets; but for their spiritual or metaphorical sense Clichtoveus refers us to the Bible. His spiritual reading of the dawn scene is preceded by a quotation: “Quoniam qui male agit, odit lucem” (St John, 3.20). It is not by applying the conventional allegorical keys to interpretation to the hymn-texts or by deriving distinctions from them that their spiritual sense is to be divined, but by recognising the Biblical echoes which their authors deliberately inserted and which guarantee the validity of Clichtoveus’s metaphorical readings.

Omnes hymnorum sententiae deprecatoriae locum habent aliquem scripturae ex quo sunt desumptae, et cui conformitate sensus apte respondent ut facile reprehendere possunt qui sacris literis vel mediocriter sunt inversati.

(fol. 3)

This careful and explicit grounding of spiritual metaphor on the authority of Scripture distinguishes the commentary of Clichtoveus from its medieval predecessors almost as much as the importance he gives to the literal sense of the hymns²⁷. And Clichtoveus can employ it very

²⁷ For an analysis of Clichtoveus’s practice in Biblical exegesis, and the relative weight he gives there to literal and allegorical reading, see J.P. Massaut, “Histoire et allégorie dans

effectively. His Biblically based reading of the phrase “munda virore gratae” in *Telluris ingens conditor*, for example, as he points out, picks up the full extent of its metaphorical reference to God’s work on the third day of creation (the hymn belongs to the Tuesday offices) and therefore gives a much more congruent sense to the “greening of grace”. Not that Clichtoveus is uncritical in his attitudes towards all the references the hymns make to Holy Writ. Contrary to the claim made by *Vexilla regis prodeunt*, the Psalmist did not sing “Regnavit a ligno Deus”, at least not according to the ancient texts of the psalms collated by “praeceptor meus Jacobus [Faber] Stapulensis”²⁸.

When Clichtoveus comes to comment on the sequences in the fourth part of his *Elucidatorium*, the central rôle of the Bible in his exposition is even more striking. He omits all the more fantastic saints’ legends, which the old commentary had retailed at great length, and brings the sequences into strict alignment with Scripture, applying standards evolved in current controversy to point out where they are in error. The sequence for St Mary Magdalen fares badly at the hands of one who is about to come to the aid of Lefèvre d’Étaples in the dispute over the identity of that protean saint²⁹. Clichtoveus takes the sequences as seriously as the hymns, but one senses a certain distancing. He comments relatively little on their language and makes no attempt to relate it to the diction of classical poetry, as alien to them as it was meaningful for an understanding of the hymns, if only at the level of the letter. Even in the case of the hymns his fastidious unease with unclassical attitudes to language is demonstrated by his insistence that the anagram “Eva” / “ave” on which the second stanza of *Ave maris stella* turns is “accidentarium ... et nihil ad rem conferens”, quite incidental to

les Évangiles d’après Lefèvre d’Étaples et Clichtove”, in *Histoire de l’exégèse au XVI^e siècle. Textes du colloque international tenu à Genève en 1976* (Geneva, 1978), pp. 186-201. At about the same time as Clichtoveus was working on the hymns he also edited a medieval allegorisation of the Bible, *Hugonis [i.e. Richardi] a Sancto Victore allegoriarum in utrumque testamentum libri decem*, Paris, 1517, in the preface to which he discriminates clearly between the literal mode of reading appropriate to pagan authors and the allegorical senses, which are the exclusive property of Scripture.

²⁸ In his *Quincuplex Psalterium* of 1509. This sort of textual criticism, of apparently humanist inspiration, is quite foreign to the *Aurea Expositio* in any of its versions. But not to the later Middle Ages as a whole. In his commentary on this hymn Dionysius the Carthusian had already noted the absence of “a ligno” from the ‘Hebraicus’ text of the Psalms, and had attributed its inclusion in the ‘Romanus’ tradition to the incorporation of an explanatory gloss.

²⁹ *Discepcionis de Magdalena defensio*, Paris, 1519.

the conversion of the curse of Eve into the blessing brought by Mary (fol. 54^v). And, perhaps, despite Clichtoveus's well-attested devotion to the Virgin, one might also detect a certain distaste for the unBiblical metaphor, "star of the sea", on which he quotes approvingly from St Bernard, but does not comment himself³⁰.

With Clichtoveus we reach the most sophisticated synthesis of all the various trends apparent in hymn-commentary in the first fifty years of printing. With him also, in his engagement (mainly on the conservative side, it must be said) with the practical programmes and theological disputes of the Evangelicals, we stand at the beginning of another episode in the history of hymns, in which they will be sung on the front-line of battles to come. The old hymn-books were to play their part. Already in 1527, in an attractively illustrated edition for the laity, Nicolas Mauroy at Troyes was to translate the Latin hymns into the vernacular (doubtless from an edition of the *Aurea Expositio*, for he also translates the preface of 'Hilarius'), dedicate his work to Marguerite de Navarre, and send his little book forth into the fray:

Creindre ne doibz pene comminatoire
 Busches, fagotz, ne feu fulminatoire
 Transitoire
 Puis que exempt es de Lutherique blasme
 Dire on te peult sans voloir parler de ame
 Sieur ne dame
 Pour gens devotz tu es consolatoire
 Va livre va³¹.

*
 * *

It would be rash to draw detailed conclusions from this survey of the early printing-history of hymn-books, which I present as nothing more than a preliminary reconnoitre, based only on the most standard bibliographies and the small selection of libraries I have visited. I have seen all the books in the libraries mentioned (apart from some of the British Library copies, which were destroyed in the war). But there are many more libraries to be investigated, and the pattern which seems to be emerging could be radically changed.

³⁰ For some very unbiblical associations, see A.A. Barb, "Antaura: the Mermaid and the Devil's Grandmother", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 29 (1966), pp. 1-23.

³¹ *Les hymnes communs de lannee: translatez de latin en Francoys en rithme: Par Nicolas Mauroy le jeune de Troyes*, Troyes, J. le Coq for N. Mauroy, 1527.

Nevertheless, some general remarks are perhaps worth making. In geographical terms, liturgical material seems to be developing national characteristics in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, a process fostered by printing centres and their marketing practices, which tend to establish one hymnal as standard, not just for a particular ecclesiastical district, but for the nation as a whole. It is possible that this helped to promote the involvement of the notion of national identity with the concept of a national church. Certainly the hymnals of France, Germany, England, Spain, Italy and Poland by and large have independent histories. The only hymn-commentary whose influence transcends national boundaries for any length of time is that of Clichtoveus, and then it is as part of a more ambitious project for the general education of the clergy.

However, as far as developments in the substance of their hymn-commentaries are concerned, the editors of Europe are at one. All of them treat the hymns primarily as paedagogic material, and their annotations are examples of humanist practice in linguistic, rhetorical, textual and metrical analysis. And what is particularly interesting is that the hymnals give us specimens of humanist principles applied to the examination of medieval Latin texts, not to denigrate them, but to rehabilitate them. At the same time the hymnals assure the survival of medieval modes of reading side by side with grammatical exposition. Nevertheless, tastes were changing and the change was accelerated by printing, with its capacity to promote some trends much to the detriment of others. In our case it is hymns which live on, carefully adjusted to classical norms of language and metre, and sequences which do not. The future of both hymns and sequences, the former purged of medieval improprieties by a papal commission in 1629, the latter virtually discarded by the Council of Trent, was already written in the early years of printing.

University of Durham
Department of French

Franz RÖMER

EIN "FREUNDSCHAFTSBRIEF" DES BATTISTA GUARINI AN ALBRECHT VON BONSTETTEN

Ein Exemplar der Editio princeps der Pliniusbriefe (Venedig 1471), das die Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart besitzt (Inc. 2° 13 110, 2. Ex.), stammt aus der Bibliothek des Dietrich von Plieningen¹, dessen Freund Rudolf Agricola den Text 1478 in Ferrara durchkorrigierte². Auf dem Vorsatzblatt findet man die handschriftliche Kopie eines Briefes, den Battista Guarini im März 1481³ an den Schweizer Humanisten Albrecht von Bonstetten⁴ geschrieben hat. Von der Korrespondenz B. Guarinis gibt es — im Gegensatz zu der seines Vaters, Guarino Veronese⁵ — noch keine geschlossene Edition, und nur allmählich steigt durch die Publikation einzelner Streufunde die Zahl der im Druck zugänglichen Briefe⁶. So ist die Existenz des in der Stuttgarter Inkunabel erhaltenen Briefes der neueren Fachliteratur zwar teilweise bekannt⁷, doch ist er bisher unediert geblieben.

Battista Guarini (ca. 1435-1503⁸) lehrte seit 1460 als Nachfolger seines

¹ F. Adelmann, *Dietrich von Plieningen. Humanist und Staatsmann*, Schriftenreihe zur Bayer. Landesgeschichte 68 (München 1981), S. 20 und 113. U. Sieber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Kamburger Stiftsbibliothek* (Köln 1969: Bibliothekar-Lehrinstitut d. Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Hausarbeit), S. 80. — Auf diese Arbeit machte mich freundlicherweise Herr Dr. W. Irtenkauf, Stuttgart, aufmerksam. Für weitere bibliographische Hinweise habe ich Herrn Dr. P. Amelung, Stuttgart, zu danken.

² Am Ende des Drucks ist handschriftlich vermerkt: Diligenter per Rodolphum agricolam frisum recognitus Anno 1478 Ferrarie.

³ Das Datum ist eindeutig 15. März 1481, sodaß die in der Literatur mehrfach zu findende Angabe "vor 1481" wohl auf einem Irrtum beruht: Adelmann (Anm. 1), S. 113; Sieber (Anm. 1), S. 80.

⁴ A. Büchi, *Albrecht von Bonstetten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus in der Schweiz* (Frauenfeld 1889).

⁵ *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese*, ed. R. Sabbadini, Miscellanea di Storia Veneta, ser. 3, tom. 8, 11, 14 (Venezia 1915-19).

⁶ Zuletzt publizierte D.E. Rhodes, "Battista Guarini and a Book at Oxford", *Journal Warburg & Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974), 349-353 mit einem Schreiben an den ungarischen Bischof Nicholas IV de Bathor den spätesten bisher bekannten Brief B. Guarinis.

⁷ Adelmann (Anm. 1), S. 20 und 113; Sieber (Anm. 1), S. 80; P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, Bd. 3 (London-Leiden 1983), S. 712. Dagegen fehlt der Brief in der (keinen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit erhebenden) Zusammenstellung von 15 Briefen bei Rhodes (Anm. 6), S. 351.

⁸ Zum Problem der genauen Lebensdaten zuletzt L. Piacente, "Tirocinio ed attività esegetica dell'umanista Battista Guarini", *Giornale italiano di Filologia* n.s. 13/34 (1982), 67, Anm. 1.

Vaters Rhetorik in Ferrara, wo er dessen Tradition als Erforscher und vor allem Vermittler des antiken Erbes würdig fortsetzte⁹. Sein Ruf als Lehrer (auch des Griechischen!) hat wohl dazu beigetragen, daß frühe Vertreter des deutschen Humanismus wie Rudolf Agricola und Dietrich von Pleningen ihre Studien von Pavia nach Ferrara verlegten. In Pavia hatte 1471-74 auch Albrecht von Bonstetten (ca. 1445- nach 1500¹⁰) studiert, war dann aber in das Kloster Einsiedeln zurückgekehrt, wo er bereits seit 1469 das Amt des Dekans innehatte¹¹ und wo er sich auch 1481 aufhielt. Wann und auf welchem Weg er erstmals Kontakt mit B. Guarini aufnahm und welche Rolle der in dem hier edierten Brief erwähnte Udalicus dabei spielte, ist im einzelnen nicht bekannt, doch scheint es nicht undenkbar, daß eben das Schreiben, auf das Guarini antwortet, erst einen solchen Kontakt herstellte. Bonstetten hatte es sich schon früh zur Gewohnheit gemacht, brieflich die Freundschaft zahlreicher gebildeter Zeitgenossen zu suchen, wie die an ihn gerichteten Schreiben zeigen, die bis zum Jahr 1480 erhalten sind¹², während die von ihm selbst verfaßten Briefe verloren gingen. In Italien hatte er beste Beziehungen zu Mailand, wo er sich der Gunst der Sforza erfreute¹³, und von dort erhielt er ca. 1473 auch zwei kurze, aber wohlwollende Schreiben des berühmten Epistolographen Francesco Filelfo¹⁴, um dessen Aufmerksamkeit er sich offensichtlich ebenso bemüht hatte wie später um den Kontakt mit B. Guarini.

Wie Dietrich von Pleningen, der spätestens 1482 wieder in Deutschland war, in den Besitz des Briefftextes kam, ist kaum mit Sicherheit festzustellen, doch wird man eher an Ferrara denken als an Einsiedeln. Auch mag es kein Zufall sein, daß Guarinis elegantes Schreiben gerade in einen Druck der Pliniusbriefe eingetragen wurde¹⁵. Die aus dem

⁹ Zu Leben und Werk vgl. L.N. Cittadella, *I Guarini, famiglia nobile ferrarese oriunda di Verona* (Bologna 1870), S. 45-55; R. Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Guarini Veronese* (Catania 1896), passim; M.E. Cosenza, *A Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of Italian Humanists* (Boston 1962) Bd. 2, S. 1718-20; weiters die einleitenden Abschnitte bei Rhodes (Anm. 6) und Piacente (Anm. 8) sowie die dort angeführte Literatur.

¹⁰ Die Lebensdaten sind sehr unsicher: Büchi (Anm. 4), S. 7 und 100.

¹¹ Zur Biographie Bonstettens vgl. neben Büchi (Anm. 4) auch U.M. Brichacek, *Die "Oesterrische Hystory" des Albrecht von Bonstetten* (Diss. Wien 1980), S. 37-64.

¹² Albrecht von Bonstetten. *Briefe und ausgewählte Schriften*, hrsg. v. A. Büchi (Basel 1893), S. 1-110: Briefe an A. v. Bonstetten (1465-1480). Von den Korrespondenten hatte Jacob Rink (Nr. 84), der im April 1480 an Bonstetten schrieb, zuvor in Ferrara studiert.

¹³ Büchi (Anm. 4), S. 34ff.

¹⁴ Büchi (Anm. 4), S. 30, Nr. 18 und Nr. 25.

¹⁵ Über den Schreiber wird ebenfalls nur schwer eine Aussage zu treffen sein, da die Abschrift offenbar in Eile angefertigt wurde und das Schriftbild stark variiert. (Schriftpro-

Norden kommenden Schüler der italienischen Humanisten folgten mit Begeisterung deren Vorbild, und so ist wohl auch der Zweck der Abschrift von Guarinis Brief an Bonstetten zu sehen: Sie sollte ihrem Besitzer als Vorlage und Muster für spätere epistolographische Bemühungen dienen¹⁶.

Baptista Guarinus nobili ac reverendo domino Alberto Bonstetten baroni et decano loci Heremitarum sal.p.d.

Ex litteris tuis, quas cum optimo viro atque homine eruditissimo Udalrico propinquo tuo eodemque discipulo et familiarissimo meo
 05 communis mihi esse voluisti, quanto litterarum mearum et mutuae inter nos benivolentiae desiderio tenereris intellexi. Quorum alterum mihi facillimum est, alterum etiam debitum. Quid enim facilius et libentius faciam quam ei scribere qui nobilitate, virtute, doctrina, religione in Deum non modo redamandus sed etiam amandus est, praesertim cum
 10 litterulis meis perinde ac summo beneficio, ut ipse ais, te sim obligaturus? Tibi igitur et scripsi et saepius me scripturum polliceor, ut quam quaeris benivolentia litterarum crebritate corroborata adauctaque in amicitiam transire queat, cum hominis absentis vera vestigia verasque notas et quandam quasi consuetudinem afferat epistola Virgilianumque
 15 illud efficiat "absentem absens auditque videtque". Ad amoris autem vicissitudinem abs te invitatus nisi tibi in amore respondeam, non solum superbus verum etiam impius ingratusque haberi possim. Est enim omnibus prope natura insitum, ut ad eos diligendos facile alliciantur, a quibus se diligere sentiant, praesertim si in eis aliquod probitatis et virtutis
 20 — qua nihil est amabilius — lumen perspexerint. Itaque ad amorem conciliandum optimo usus es philtro, cum me quamvis absentem iam abs te amari professus fueris. Nec parum ad eandem rem id profuit, quod laudes meas accurate facundeque commemorasti. De quibus etsi disputare non est meum, cum de nobis ipsis in alterutram partem loqui
 25 prohibeamur, ne vel arrogantiae vel stultitiae rei simus, tamen sic ad devinciendos nobis animos laudationem vehementer proficere ut odium

ben des D. von Pleningen sind erhalten; z.B. hat er 1478 in Ferrara den Codex Stuttgart, poet. 4^o38 geschrieben.)

¹⁶ Die Briefe bekannter Humanisten, darunter die des Guarino Veronese, wurden auch in Italien selbst gerne als stilistisches Vorbild herangezogen: B. Marx, "Zur Typologie lateinischer Briefsammlungen in Venedig vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert", in: *Der Brief im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, hrsg. v. F.J. Worstbrock, Mitteilung d. Kommission für Humanismusforschung 9 (Weinheim 1983), S. 121.

vituperatione concitari testis est gravissimus Isocrates. Nam cum nulla tanta sit humilitas, ut Valerius ait, quae dulcedine gloriae non tangatur, nescio quomodo iis libenter afficimur, a quibus laudes nostras praedicari
 30 cognoscimus. Unde Themistoclem Atheniensem ferunt, cum in theatrum iret interrogatum, cuius vocem libenter audiret, "eius" respondisse "a quo artes meae optime cane[re]ntur". Quare cum et benivolentiae pignore et tuis de me praeconiis — quae duo validissima sunt amoris vincula — me provocaris, de meo in te animo nihil dubitare debebis, sed
 35 quasi coniunctionis testimonium et foederis vim habeat haec epistola, me amare perges et saepe aliquid scribes, ne silentium — quod amicitii magnam calamitatem afferre consuevit — conflatum et recenter conglutinatum inter nos amorem divellat. Vale. Ferrariae Idibus Martiis a salvatoris adventu anno MCCCCLXXXI⁰.

Im folgenden soll zunächst eine Art philologischer Detailkommentar, hierauf eine kurze Gesamtwertung des Briefes versucht werden:

Zu Zeile

- (01) *Bonstetten* Möglicherweise wollte der Schreiber eine latinisierte Namensform "Bonstettensi" andeuten, indem er über den letzten Buchstaben (der einer ci-Verbindung wie gleich darauf in *loci* ähnlicher sieht als einem n) einen Querstrich setzte. Die in den von Büchi edierten Briefen¹⁷ verwendete Namensform ist aber durchwegs Albertus de Bonstetten.

Unter den antiken Texten, auf die B. Guarini Bezug nimmt¹⁸, steht — vom Thema her nicht überraschend — an erster Stelle Ciceros Laelius "De amicitia". So dürfte wohl schon bei (05) *mutuae inter nos benivolentiae* ein erster Anklang vorliegen (*Lael.* 22: *qui potest esse vita vitalis ... , quae non in amici mutua benevolentia conquiescit?*), obwohl die Verbindung keineswegs selten ist; vgl.z.B. *fam.* 13, 4.4.

Signifikanter ist die nächste Stelle:

- (09) *non modo redamandus sed etiam amandus* Der allgemeine Gedanke, daß Liebe zu erwidern auf einer niedrigeren Stufe steht als Liebe aus eigenem

¹⁷ Vgl. Anm. 12.

¹⁸ Wie im folgenden noch mehrfach zu sehen sein wird, finden sich Guarinis Klassikerzitate häufig auch bei anderen Humanisten, sodaß im Einzelfall oft nicht zu entscheiden ist, ob ein Zitat direkt aus dem Original stammt oder von einem Zeitgenossen bzw. aus einer Exempla-Sammlung übernommen wurde. Da gründliche Kenntnis der Originaltexte aber auf jeden Fall (schon vom Schulbetrieb her) angenommen werden muß, ist die Alternative "antikes oder zeitgenössisches Zitat" letztlich ein Scheinproblem.

- entgegenzubringen, wurde von Guarini in pointierter Umformung von *Lael.* 49 gestaltet: *animo ... eo, qui vel amare vel, ut ita dicam, redamare possit.*
- (10) *litterulis* Das Wort ist in der Bedeutung "epistula" seit Cicero in Gebrauch, also wohl von ihm geprägt: *Att.* 12,11; 14,4.2; 15,4.1 (ThLL VII 1534).
- (12) *litterarum crebritate* vgl. Cic., *Att.* 13,18: *tanta erat crebritas litterarum.*
- (12) *benivolentia ... adaucta* Ein Brief ist nicht nur ein Zeugnis von Freundschaft, sondern auch geeignet, diese zu bestärken: So versichert Ambros., *ep.* 46,1 *amor litteris augetur* und bringt damit einen Topos zum Ausdruck, der in der Spätantike mehrfach belegbar ist¹⁹.
- (13) *hominis absentis vera vestigia verasque notas* Hier ist eine "Brieftheoretische" Passage Senecas übernommen, der in der Einleitung zu *ep.* 40 einen Brief für ein besseres Mittel zur Vergegenwärtigung eines Freundes hält als ein Bildnis²⁰: 40,1 *quanto iucundiores sunt litterae, quae vera amici absentis vestigia, verasque notas adferunt?* — Nicht nur B. Guarini beschränkt sich im vorliegenden Brief auf dieses eine Seneca-Zitat, auch sein Vater, Guarino Ver., nimmt Seneca nur selten zum Vorbild²¹: Tatsächlich kann beobachtet werden, wie seit Gasparino Barzizza Senecas Briefe als Muster der humanistischen Epistolographen zugunsten Ciceros zurücktreten. Barzizza, der zu den Korrespondenten des Guarino Ver. zählt, hielt aber gleichzeitig — schon durch seine Kommentierung — die inhaltliche Beschäftigung mit ihnen aufrecht²².
- (15) Verg., *Aen.* 4,83 *illum absens absentem auditque videtque.* Diese — zur Veranschaulichung der Briefsituation geradezu prädestinierte — Vergilstelle kehrt in den Briefen von Guarino Ver.²³ in vielen Variationen wieder, z.B. *ep.* 396 ... *ut mihi Virgilianum illud obveniat: "illum absentem absens auditque videtque"*; *ep.* 574 ... *sic utrique Virgilianum illud obveniet "absentem absens auditque videtque"*; vgl. *epp.* 63, 451, 581, 785, 798, 858, 861, 874.
- (16) *in amore respondeam* Cic., *ep. ad Brut.* 6 (I 1), 1 *nihil enim mihi minus hominis videtur quam non respondere in amore iis a quibus provocare.* Auch diese Stelle wird von Guarino Ver. gerne variiert, z.B. (mit noch stärkerer Cicero-Anlehnung) *ep.* 22 *quid enim facilius est quam eis in amore et benivolentia respondere, a quibus ad amandum provoceris*; *ep.* 23 *cum nihil tibi facilius, nihil iocundius, nihil gratius esse possit, quam ut eis in amore respondeas, a quibus in amore provocatum te intelligas*; vgl. *epp.* 37, 38, 70, 220, 452.
- (18) *prope natura insitum* ... Der folgende Gedankengang ist in engem Anschluß an Cic., *Lael.* 27f. mit teilweise wörtlichen Übernahmen gestaltet:

¹⁹ K. Thraede, *Grundzüge griechisch-römischer Brieftopik*, Zetemata 48 (München 1970), S. 126 f.

²⁰ Vgl. Thraede (Anm. 19), S. 73.

²¹ Sabbadini (Anm. 5) weist nur Zitate aus den Tragödien nach.

²² Marx (Anm. 16), S. 119.

²³ zitiert nach der Ausgabe von Sabbadini (Anm. 5).

Lael. 27: Quapropter a natura mihi videtur potius quam ab indigentia orta amicitia ... (Wechselseitiges Liebesempfinden entsteht nicht nur zwischen Eltern und Kindern, sondern auch dann, wenn man einen charakterlich verwandten Menschen findet,) *quod in eo quasi lumen aliquod probitatis et virtutis perspicere videamur.* Mit — *qua nihil est amabilius* — hat Guarini den bei Cicero unmittelbar folgenden Gedanken syntaktisch untergeordnet und damit eine gewisse Verdichtung der Aussage erreicht: *Lael. 28: Nihil est enim virtute amabilius, nihil quod magis adliciat ad diligendum, quippe cum propter virtutem et probitatem etiam eos quos numquam vidimus, quodam modo diligamus.* — Die hier von Cicero vorgelegte Definition der Freundschaft läßt sich bestens auf die — einander kaum näher bekannten — Brieffartner Guarini und Bonstetten anwenden, weil es nicht auf den persönlichen Kontakt, sondern vor allem auf die *virtus* ankommt.

Den Wert der Laelius-Stelle für den Freundschaftsbrief hat schon Guarino Ver. erkannt: ep. 131²⁴ *Quibus pro rebus nisi tuae pietati satisfecero, ingratitudinis reus sim et eo magis, quod nihil est factu facilius natura ipsa invitante quam eum diligere, in quo singulare aliquod probitatis ac virtutis lumen eluceat.*

- (21) *optimo usus es philtro ...* Der Grundgedanke ist schon bei antiken Autoren belegt: Hecaton frg. 27 (Fowler) = Sen., ep. 9,6 *Quaeris quomodo amicum cito facturus sit? ... Hecaton ait, "ego tibi monstrabo amatorium sine medicamento, sine herba, sine ullius veneficae carmine: si vis amari, ama."* Vgl. Ov., ars 2,107 *ut ameris, amabilis esto*; Mart. 6,11.10 *ut ameris, ama* (Auson., epigr. 22,6). — Als sprichwörtliche Wendung findet sich "*philtrum amoris amor*"²⁵ im 16.Jh.: *Sprichwörter. Schöne, weise, herzliche Clugreden unnd Hoffsprüch ...*, Frankfurt/Main (Ch. Egenolff) 1541, I 57a "*philtrum amor*". Es ist keyn ander artzney odder Zauberey / Lieb, wiltu geliebt sein. — Daß die lateinische Prägung aber mindestens auf das 15.Jh. zurückgeht, zeigt unsere Stelle.

- (27) B. Guarini bezieht sich hier auf die bei den Humanisten sehr beliebte und mehrfach übersetzte Rede des (Pseudo-²⁶) Isokrates an Demonikos: 33 οὓς ἂν βούλη ποιήσασθαι φίλους ἀγαθόν τι λέγε περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαγγέλλοντας · ἀρχὴ γὰρ φιλίας μὲν ἐπαινος, ἐχθρας δὲ ψόγος.

Nachdem Πρὸς Δημόνικον schon im 12.-14.Jh. übersetzt worden war²⁷, unterzog sich Guarino Ver. zwischen 1403 und 1408 nach den Richtlinien seines Lehres Manuel Chrysoloras derselben Aufgabe²⁸; ep.

²⁴ publiziert auch bei Sabbadini (Anm. 9), S. 179.

²⁵ K.F.W. Wander, *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon* (Leipzig 1867), Bd. 3, "Liebe" Nr. 201; vgl. Nr. 317 *magnes amoris amor*.

²⁶ A. Lesky, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, 3. Aufl. (Bern-München 1971), S. 659: unecht.

²⁷ R. Sabbadini, "Una traduzione medievale del Πρὸς Δημόνικον di Isocrate e una umanistica", *Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo di sc. e lett. ser. II*, 38 (1904), 674-687.

²⁸ Sabbadini (Anm. 27), S. 683 ff. Später übersetzte Guarino Ver. auch Isokrates' Rede an Nikokles: K. Müllner, "Zur humanistischen Übersetzungsliteratur", *Wiener Studien* 23 (1901), S. 278 und 289-299 (Text).

824A hebt er die hier behandelte Stelle hervor, die er griechisch zitiert, um dann folgende Übersetzung vorzuschlagen: *Quos efficere velis amicos, de illis bonum aliquod erga renuntiantes dicito, nam amicitiae quidem laus, inimicitiae vero vituperatio initium est*. Ähnlich übersetzen Lapo da Castiglionchio²⁹ um 1435 und Niccolò Sagundino³⁰, der 1438 nach Italien kam. B. Guarini hat sich weniger streng an den griechischen Wortlaut gehalten und durch verbale Auflösung von ἀρχή — *initium in proficere ... concitari* eine effektiv ausgewogene Periode geschaffen. — Die Empfehlung berechnenden Lobes gegenüber Dritten hat auch in Erasmus' *De conscribendis epistolis* (De commendatitia epistola) Aufnahme gefunden: *Quare scite Isocrates praecipuum amicitiae conciliandae initium commonstravit, ut absentem laudemus apud eos quos renuntiuros suspicemur*³¹.

- (28) Der Gedanke, wie leicht der Mensch seinem Lobredner zugetan³² ist, wird als nächstes mit einer Sentenz aus Valerius Maximus 8, 14.5 illustriert: *nulla est ergo tanta humilitas, quae dulcedine gloriae non tangatur* (im Zusammenhang einer Anekdote über wertvolle und wertlose militärische Auszeichnungen).
- (30) Ähnlich wie bei "Isocrates" liegt mit der folgenden Themistokles-Anekdote ein von den Humanisten gern herangezogener Topos vor, der in Anlehnung an zwei antike Vorbilder vielfältig gestaltet werden kann: Cic., *Arch.* 20: *Themistoclem illum, summum Athenis virum, dixisse aiunt, cum ex eo quaereretur, quod acroama aut cuius vocem libentissime audiret, eius a quo sua virtus optime praedicaretur*. Val. Max. 8,14, ext. 1 (Themistocles) *Theatrum petens, cum interrogaretur, cuius vox auditu illi futura esset gratissima, dixit, "eius, a quo artes meae optime canentur"*. B. Guarini hat sich also in erster Linie an Valerius Maximus orientiert, mit dem er die Lokalisierung der Szene im Theater und den Wortlaut des Ausspruchs gemeinsam hat, aber der zentrale Fragesatz *cuius vocem ... audiret* ist ein (fast) wörtliches Cicero-Zitat. Auch in der Korrespondenz des Vaters findet sich Cicero als Modell; *ep.* 866 zitiert Manuel Guarini *cum ex eo ... praedicaretur* wörtlich³³. — Sollte A. v. Bonstetten den Topos nicht schon längst gekannt haben, so mußte er dennoch nicht auf Guarinis Brief warten: Am 3.Feb. 1480 schrieb ihm nämlich Michael Cristan u.a.: *... Themistoclem, illum summum Athenarum dynastam et principem, dixisse legimus cum ex eo quaereretur, quod acroama aut cuius vocem libentissime audiret: eius, a quo sua virtus optime praedicaretur*³⁴.

²⁹ Müllner (Anm. 28), S. 276-289 (mit Text).

³⁰ K. Müllner, "Humanistisches", *Progr. Wiener Neustadt* 1903, S. 1-9 (mit Text).

³¹ Erasmus von Rotterdam, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, lat. u. dt., hrsg. v. W. Welzig, Bd.8: *De conscribendis epistolis*, übers. v. K. Smolak (Darmstadt 1980), S. 212.

³² Mit *affici alicui* ("jemandem zugetan sein") liegt ausnahmsweise eine un-ciceronische Konstruktion vor, die sich aber mehrfach bei Guarino Ver. findet; z.B. *ep.* 131: *... tanto magis tibi afficiar est necesse*; *ep.* 623; 665; vgl. *ep.* 699.

³³ Valerius Maximus näher steht *ep.* 30; *... Themistoclem haud dissimulare solitum "eam sibi gratissimam futuram vocem, quae illius laudes decantaret et <artes> illustraret suas"*. vgl. *ep.* 149: *Themistocles ... fateri non dubitavit eam sibi futuram vocem iucundissimam, quae laudes suas optime exprimeret*.

³⁴ Büchi (Anm. 12), S. 101, Nr. 81.

- (32) Das überlieferte *canerentur* ist im Zusammenhang mit *meae* grammatisch untragbar. Sollte es von Guarini selbst stammen, so wäre es als Mischung von direkter und indirekter Rede unter dem Einfluß der Cicero-Stelle (... *praedicaretur*) zu erklären. Eher aber dürfte es sich doch um einen Irrtum des Schreibers handeln, zumal mit *canentur* das Zitat im genauen Wortlaut des Valerius Maximus wiedergegeben ist.
- (36) *ne silentium ... amorem divellat* Der Gedanke läßt sich bis auf Aristoteles zurückführen: *Eth. Nicom.* 8,1157b 13 (Dichterzitat) πολλὰς δὲ φιλίας ἀπροσηγορία διέλυσεν. Später wird er in lateinischer Übersetzung sprichwörtlich und findet sich so in Erasmus' *Adagia*³⁵: *multas amicitias silentium diremit*. Erasmus zitiert die Aristoteles-Stelle und macht auf die Unzulänglichkeit der Wiedergabe von ἀπροσηγορία durch *silentium* aufmerksam³⁶.
- (38) *conglutinatum inter nos amorem* wohl unter dem Einfluß ciceronischer Formulierungen wie *Lael.* 32: *si utilitas amicitiam conglutinet*; *Att.* 1, 17.10: *tueri ... a me conglutinatum concordiam*; *Att.* 7, 8.1: *tu soles conglutinare amicitias testimoniis tuis*³⁷.

B. Guarini hat hier ein Schreiben verfaßt, das ganz offensichtlich den Typ des Freundschaftsbriefes repräsentiert, wie er bei den Humanisten sehr beliebt und verbreitet war, ja geradezu eine gesellschaftliche Notwendigkeit darstellte. Daß Albrecht von Bonstetten, Dekan von Einsiedeln, an dieser Konvention Gefallen fand, zeigen die an ihn gerichteten Briefe. Auch haben sich humanistische Briefsteller mit Topik und Aufbau von Freundschaftsbriefen beschäftigt: Die nur wenige Jahre nach unserem Brief entstandene und später sehr geschätzte *Ars epistolandi* des Francesco Negri³⁸ empfiehlt ein Aufbauschema, dessen Teile bei B. Guarini vollständig vorhanden sind³⁹: Nach einer Definition des Freundschaftsbriefes (*Amatoria epistola quae honesta dicitur, est illa quae ad aliquem amicum scribitur pro amoris nostri declaratione, quo honeste in ipsum fuerimus affecti*⁴⁰.) schlägt er eine Dreiteilung vor. Die Einleitung

³⁵ *Adagiorum opus Erasmi Roterodamensis ...* (Basileae 1526), p. 348: Chiliadis secundae centuria I, adagium XXVI.

³⁶ Die weite Verbreitung des Sprichworts illustriert u.a.: *Sprichwörter. Schöne, weise, Klugreden ...* (Frankfurt/Main, Ch. Egenolfs Erben, 1555), 297b "*multas amicitias silentium diremit*" Durch schweigen verdirbt vil freundschaft. Gütigkeyt in reden unnd sendbriefen erhalt gute freundschaft.

³⁷ Zur Wirkung des ciceronischen *amicitias conglutinare* auf den spätantiken Brief: Thraede (Anm. 19), S. 128 und 185f.

³⁸ Vgl. Marx (Anm. 16), S. 136-140; Smolak (Anm. 31), Einl. XLV-XLVII.

³⁹ Negris enge Verbindung mit der zeitgenössischen Praxis beobachtet Marx (Anm. 16), S. 138.

⁴⁰ *Ars epistolandi* Francisci Negri Veneti doctoris clarissimi; 1499, f.8^r. (Erstausgabe Venedig 1488).

ist eine *captatio benivolentiae* unter Hervorhebung der *virtus* und *probitas* des Adressaten, *propter quam dicemus omnes esse inclinatos ad illum non solum amandum sed etiam observandum*. Der zweite Teil enthält die Beteuerung, daß die *virtus* des Gepriesenen auch auf den Briefschreiber ihre Wirkung nicht verfehlt hat; der dritte bringt die ausdrückliche Versicherung, wie tief *amor* und *benivolentia* einem solchen Mann gegenüber in ihm verwurzelt sind, verbunden mit dem Wunsch nach Erwidierung der Freundschaft sowie deren ständiger Vertiefung und ewigem Bestand. Weiters gewinnt in der Brieftheorie des späten 15.Jh. das Sprichwort zunehmend an Bedeutung⁴¹, ein stilistisches Mittel, das auch unserem Brief nicht fremd ist, in dem Sprichwörter und Sentenzen teils direkt zur Bestätigung der Aussage verwendet werden, teils im Hintergrund präsent sind.

B. Guarini bewegt sich bei seiner Gestaltung des konventionellen Themas also durchaus in den Bahnen der literarischen Tradition: Er baut den Brief "vorschriftsmäßig" auf, bringt die Topik, die man von ihm erwartet, und zeigt seine Belesenheit in den klassischen Autoren. Bei näherer Betrachtung stellte sich freilich heraus, daß ein Großteil seiner Klassikerzitate bereits in den Briefen des Vaters, Guarino Veronese, — die ihm ja sicher als Vorbild gedient haben — einen festen Platz hat. Muß man deswegen annehmen, daß B. Guarini auf Klassikerzitate aus zweiter Hand angewiesen war? Daß dies nicht der Fall war, beweist schon seine allgemeine Bildung und sonstige literarische Tätigkeit, es geht aber auch daraus hervor, daß er die Vorbildstellen nicht einfach in der beim Vater gefundenen Form reproduziert, sondern sinnvoll seinem Zweck angepaßt hat. Er ließ sich also von seiner unmittelbaren Vorlage — die er beim Vater oder auch bei einem anderen Literaten der Zeit gefunden haben mag — zu individueller Verarbeitung des antiken Originals anregen⁴² und erreichte durch geschickte Aufnahme des von der Tradition Gegebenen, daß sein Brief an Albrecht von Bonstetten als ein geschlossenes Ganzes wirkt⁴³.

Universität Wien

Institut für Klassische Philologie

⁴¹ F. Heinimann, "Zu den Anfängen der humanistischen Paroemiologie", in: *Catalepton, Festschrift B. Wyss* (Basel 1985), S. 177-181.

⁴² Ein schönes Beispiel ist *Lael.* 27f. (vgl. zu Zeile 18), wo über die wörtlichen Anklänge hinaus der gesamte ciceronische Gedankengang auf die Situation des Briefschreibers anwendbar ist.

⁴³ An der Entstehung dieser Arbeit hat meine Mitarbeiterin Elisabeth Klecker maßgeblichen Anteil.

David CARLSON

KING ARTHUR AND COURT POEMS FOR THE BIRTH OF ARTHUR TUDOR IN 1486*

I. Henry VII and the Tudor Myth

Henry VII's best claim to the throne of England was the simple claim of superior force: the throne was his by right of his victory at the battle of Bosworth field on 22 August 1485. Political theories that made it subjects' duty to rid their kingdoms of wicked monarchs¹ served to justify Henry's use of force and the widespread treachery against Richard III that had helped to secure Henry's victory, and so supplemented his military claim. But the strength of Henry's military right to royal power and its theoretical sanctions also put the weakness of his genealogical claim in high relief: even being responsible for putting an end to the tragical doings of the wicked but otherwise legitimate Richard III did not make Henry next in line for the throne by right of heredity: in fact, there were several claimants, or potential claimants, nearer the throne by right of birth than was this son of a granddaughter of John of Gaunt's bastard son John Beaufort, whose descendants had been legally excluded from the line of succession. Henry's efforts later in his reign, to assure himself a male heir, and to link his house, even himself, to other ruling houses of Europe by marriage, have been seen as expressions of his continuing anxiety about guaranteeing the legitimacy of his rule and of the dynasty he founded².

Henry sought to legitimate his rule more immediately by claiming or at least fostering the notion that his accession fulfilled the longstanding

* I would like to thank Gilbert Tournoy for his contributions to preparing these texts for publication.

¹ See Moody Prior, *The Drama of Power* (Evanston, IL, 1973), esp. pp. 83-100.

² On the conditions of Henry's accession, see Mortimer Levine, *Tudor Dynastic Problems 1460-1571* (London, 1973), pp. 31-35; and S.B. Chrimes, *English Constitutional Ideas in the Fifteenth Century* (1936; rpt., New York, 1965), pp. 32-34.

prophecy of a British resurgence, and that he was king by right of his descent from Britain's legendary founders, more specifically, by right of an at least ideal kinship with the fabled King Arthur, so that in founding the Tudor dynasty on such an appeal to legend, which he was well positioned to make, Henry also founded what has been called the Tudor Myth.

The necessary condition for Henry's claim to have descended from Brutus and King Arthur, and so to have restored British ascendance, was his patrilineal Welsh ancestry; the sufficient conditions for Henry's appeal to legend were the paired prophecies of a British resurgence and a second coming of King Arthur. By the ninth century, when the collection of historical sources now known as Nennius' *Historia Brittonum* was made, belief in an eventual return to power for the British peoples had found literary form, but is not clearly linked there with Arthur's return³. And fantastic powers were attributed to Arthur early on, in the list of his battles included in Nennius and in the *Annales Cambriae* entries that speak of him, both sources perhaps very nearly contemporary with the historical Arthur himself⁴; but his second coming had not quite yet been prophesied, as far as can be ascertained. Geoffrey of Monmouth repeated the promise of a British resurgence, in the prophecies of the Shaftesbury Eagle, Merlin, and Cadwalader's angel⁵; and even though he could not bring himself to claim that Arthur would return again from Avalon, neither does he say that Arthur had died⁶. But Geoffrey's error, in having Cadwalader's angel make Merlin's

³ Nennius, *Historia Brittonum* 42, ed. John Morris (London, 1980), p. 71: "Et puer respondit: 'En revelatum est mihi hoc mysterium, et ego vobis propalabo. Regni tui figura tentorium est; duo vermes duo dracones sunt; vermis rufus draco tuus est; et stagnum figura huius mundi est. At ille albus draco illius gentis, quae occupavit gentes et regiones plurimas in Brittannia, et paene a mari usque ad mare tenebit, et postea gens nostra surget, et gentem Anglorum trans mare viriliter deiciet.'"

⁴ Nennius, *Historia Brittonum* 56, ed. Morris, p. 76, reports that "Corruerunt in uno die nongenti sexaginta viri de uno impetu Arthur; et nemo prostravit eos nisi ipse solus;" and the *Annales Cambriae* entry for 516, ed. Morris, p. 85, reports that "Arthur portavit crucem domini nostri Jhesu Christi tribus diebus et tribus noctibus in humeros suos." For an argument in favor of dating Nennius 56 and the *Annales Cambriae* entries near the time of the historical Arthur, see Leslie Alcock, *Arthur's Britain* (New York, 1971), pp. 45-71.

⁵ For the prophecies of the Shaftesbury Eagle, see Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae*, ed. Edmond Faral, *La légende arthurienne*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1929), 29 [= 2.9] and 206 [= 12.18], pp. 98 and 302; for those of Merlin, see esp. 115 [= 7.3], p. 194; and for those of Cadwalader's angel, see 205 [= 12.17], pp. 301-302.

⁶ *Historia regum Britanniae* 178 [= 11.2], p. 278: "Sed et inclytus ille rex Arturus letaliter vulneratus est, qui, illinc ad sananda vulnera sua in insulam Avalonis evectus,

prophecy of British resurgence a prophecy to King Arthur, effectively about King Arthur⁷, suggests how strong was the attraction of the prophecy that linked British resurgence with Arthur's return, which we know from other sources was already current when Geoffrey wrote in 1136-1138: the *non parvus tumultus* between French and Britons at Bodmin in 1113 seems to have arisen out of an argument about Arthur's return, according to Herman of Tournai; William of Malmesbury reports *Britonum nugae* and *naenia* about Arthur's return in circulation about 1125; and Henry of Huntingdon reports that the Britons were still waiting, *solenniter*, for Arthur's return in 1139⁸.

Heroic forebearers and such prophecies had had a long history of political exploitation before Henry Tudor came to need them at the end of the fifteenth century. The Capetians seem to have wanted to associate themselves with Charlemagne, for example, in order to enlist his popular appeal in support of their uncertain power; and in England, the Angevin Kings seem to have used Edward the Confessor similarly, to associate themselves with a popular native hero, as part of a program to reconcile the native population to a foreign dynasty initially imposed by right of military conquest, and to legitimate their rule in light of a putative legal inheritance from the last Anglo-Saxon king of England⁹. Geoffrey of Monmouth's work has also been said to be politically motivated, to sanction the Norman's claims¹⁰; and the terms of the Galfridian prophecies had been specified and used to authorize various political undertakings quite frequently, beginning already by 1155¹¹.

Thus by 1485, ample precedent for enlisting legendary ancestors, even more specifically, for using the Galfridian prophecies about King Arthur

Constantino, cognato suo et filio Cadoris, ducis Cornubiae, diadema Britanniae concessit, anno ab Incarnatione Domini DXLII."

⁷ *Historia regum Britanniae* 205 [= 12.17], pp. 301-302. Cadwalader's angel speaks to him of the time for British resurgence, "quod Merlinus Arturo prophetaverat," although when Merlin makes his prophecy of British resurgence at 115 [= 7.3], p. 194, Arthur has yet to be born.

⁸ The texts are quoted in E.K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain* (London, 1927), pp. 249, 250, 251-252.

⁹ G.H. Gerould, "King Arthur and Politics", *Speculum*, 2 (1927), 40-45; Francis Wormald, "The Solemn Entry of Mary Tudor to Montreuil-sur-mer in 1514", in *Essays Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson* (London, 1957), p. 474, prints a contemporary poem that likens Arthur's significance for the English to Charlemagne's for the French.

¹⁰ Gerould, esp. pp. 38-51; and A.E. Parsons, "The Trojan Legend in England", *Modern Language Review*, 24 (1929), 257-258.

¹¹ Parsons, 263-264; and J.S.P. Tatlock, "The Dragons of Wessex and Wales", *Speculum*, 8 (1933), 233-234.

in support of particular political projects, was available to Henry Tudor; and he does seem to have built on this precedent, at least in establishing his power. On progress from his clearly intended landing at Milford Haven in Wales, on the far side of Britain from his point of departure from exile in France, to Market Bosworth, where Richard was killed, were displayed banners depicting a red dragon, the cognizance of King Arthur in Geoffrey of Monmouth and the figure for British fortunes in the Galfridian prophecies of the *Historia regum Britanniae*; when Henry arrived in London, after his victory at Bosworth, he offered up three standards at St. Paul's, one of which showed "a Red ffyry dragon"; on 29 October 1485, the day before his coronation, Henry created a new pursuivant to heraldry and "named hym *Rougedragon*"; in Henry's coronation procession the next day (30 October 1485), members of noble families carried red dragon banners, and horse trappers with embroidery of the red dragon were provided for in accounts of the expenses for the procession; at the coronation banquet, the king's champion, Sir Robert Dymmock, entered to issue the customary challenge on a horse trapped with a "riche trapper of Cadewaldras armes"; and finally, the entertainments staged in celebration of the coronation of Henry's Queen Elizabeth in January 1486 included a barge "wherin was ordeynede a great red Dragon spowting Flamys of Fyer into Temmys"¹².

There is also evidence that more was done to define the terms of Henry's association with Arthur, that there was an effort to found Henry's claim to legitimacy by right of descent from Arthur and fulfilment of the Galfridian prophecies on something less ephemeral than the willingness of the *vulgus* of Wales and London to respond emotionally to this kind of flag waving. A commission of genealogists researched Henry's ancestry in Wales, and although they did not explicitly name King Arthur an ancestor of Henry's in their report, still they did find that Henry was a lineal descendant of Britain's eponymous founder, the Trojan Brutus of Geoffrey's *British History*: "Of which Brute King Henry the Seventh is lineally descended by Issue-Male,

¹² John Leland, *Collectanea*, quoted in Bernard Millican, *Spenser and the Table Round*, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 8 (Cambridge, MA, 1932), pp. 15-16. On Henry's use of banners and other trappings, see Millican, pp. 11 and 15; Tatlock, p. 232; and Sydney Anglo, "The Foundation of the Tudor Dynasty: The Coronation and Marriage of Henry VII", *Guildhall Miscellany*, 2 (1960), 4, 7, 8, and "The *British History* in Early Tudor Propaganda", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 44 (1961), 36-37, 38.

saving one woman, and is son to Brute in five score Degrees"¹³. An illuminated genealogy (London, B.L., King's 395), a genealogy accompanying a Latin chronicle (Harley 838), and a collection of armorials (Addit. 46354), all contemporary with Henry VII, similarly trace his descent from legendary figures of the British History; and a pedigree drawn up for Prince Arthur (College of Arms, Box 2, no. 13.A) sets him too in this line of descent¹⁴. T.D. Kendrick has adduced in evidence a royal coat-of-arms for Henry VII that 'quarters' King Arthur, such a quartering being the heralds' way of saying that King Arthur was represented in Henry Tudor's blood¹⁵. And finally, Bernard André, later official historian to the royal court, who also wrote verses in celebration of the birth of Prince Arthur, began his *Vita* of Henry VII with an account of the king's British ancestry¹⁶. So genealogists, heralds, and a court historian did also seek to legitimate Henry's claim to the throne by right of his legendary, Arthurian descent, using the comparatively dispassionate means at their disposal.

There is evidence, then, that Henry did enlist Arthurian legend in support of his claim to the throne, at least during the early part of his reign. Sydney Anglo has argued convincingly, however, that the Tudor Myth of Arthurian heritage has itself become something of a myth among historians; "that the Tudor use of the *British History* was not as extensive nor as important as has been supposed"; and "that the Early Tudor use of the *British History* should be regarded not as a continuous and expanding cult but, less dramatically, as an early efflorescence and subsequent decline"¹⁷. So, in view of the weakness of Henry VII's hereditary claim to royal power, of his need and apparent anxiety to legitimate his power, and of the ample precedent available to him for using a figure like King Arthur for propaganda and prophecies like those in Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth in service of his political purposes, the surprise is not that Henry or those associated with him

¹³ Quoted in Millican, p. 16; Anglo, "*British History*", pp. 24-25, has identified a manuscript copy from the time of Edward VI of the commission's report to Henry, in London, B.L., Royal 18.A.1xxv.

¹⁴ Anglo, "*British History*", pp. 25-26.

¹⁵ *British Antiquity* (London, 1950), pp. 35-36. Henry had precedent for such a quartering also, in the funeral arms of another Welsh-born English king, Henry V; see Parsons, p. 396.

¹⁶ Ed. James Gairdner, *Memorials of King Henry the Seventh*, Rolls Series, 10 (London, 1858), pp. 9-11.

¹⁷ Anglo, "*British History*", pp. 19-20, 40.

made the kinds of gestures that were made. What calls for explanation is why Henry made as little use of the Galfridian prophecies and King Arthur as he did. The poetic evidence for use of the Arthur myth during the early months of Henry's reign poses this question more insistently: the poets who wrote in celebration of the birth of Henry's first son Arthur made remarkably little out of the Arthurian legends that the occasion seems to have been deliberately designed to provide them.

II. The Birth of Prince Arthur

There is the one bit of unambiguous evidence that confirms that Henry tried to legitimate his claim to royal power by creating or fostering association of him and his family with King Arthur: when a son, who would have been king after him, was born to Henry on 19 September 1486, he named the child Arthur¹⁸. Furthermore, Henry, or someone else, saw to it that the birth and the christening of the child would take place at Winchester Castle, where a well-known round table¹⁹, believed to be King Arthur's own original Round Table²⁰, had been kept since at least the middle of the fifteenth century, when the chronicler John Hardyng locates it there²¹, and probably since the end of the thirteenth or first half of the fourteenth century, when enthusiasm for things Arthurian was reaching one of its periodic peaks, during the reign of Edward III²², and when it was believed that King Arthur had been crowned at Winchester Castle²³. This heavy piece of oak furniture, which was used as a table at some time, although it is now mounted into

¹⁸ See S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII* (Berkeley, 1972), pp. 66-67.

¹⁹ On the Winchester Round Table, see R.S. Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art* (New York, 1938), pp. 40-41 and plate 18; also, Edward Smirke, "On the Hall and Round Table at Winchester", in *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute: at Winchester, September 1845* (Winchester, 1846), pp. 54-77; A.A. Barb, "The Round Table and the Holy Grail," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 19 (1956), 50-51 and plates 13a-b and 14a-b; and P.J.C. Field, "The Winchester Round Table," *Notes and Queries* 223 (1978), 204.

²⁰ Caxton adduces the Winchester Round Table as evidence for the existence of Arthur in his preface to Malory, ed. N.F. Blake, *Selections from William Caxton* (Oxford, 1973), p. 6.

²¹ R.H. Fletcher, *Arthurian Materials in the Chronicles* (Boston, 1906), p. 252.

²² R.S. Loomis, "Chivalric and Dramatic Imitations of Arthurian Romance". *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, ed. W.R.W. Koehler (Cambridge, MA., 1939), I, 81-82; and Field, p. 204.

²³ Fletcher, p. 224.

the west wall of the Great Hall of the Castle, was the object of special attention during the reigns of the Tudor monarchs: it received the first of at least three Tudor repairs and repaintings — in the Tudor colors, green and white, with the red and white Tudor rose at its center — after Caxton's publication of Malory in 1485, probably for the occasion of the birth of Prince Arthur²⁴. And finally, the discoverer of the Winchester Malory manuscript, W.F. Oakeshott, mentions also "a magnificent piece of Tudor tapestry ... which is now permanently kept in Thurbern's Chantry [in Winchester Cathedral], and which ... is decorated with the arms of [King] Arthur's ancestor, Belinus, ... probably woven for the occasion of the christening of Prince Arthur"²⁵.

This iconographic clarity about the birth does seem to have insured that no one could miss the point, that then did not have to be specified until about 1540: "quem primum ex tantis nuptiis suscepit filium, Arthurum dici voluit [Henricus], ut ad antiqui Arthuri gloriam quam a patre acceperat, ne nomen quidem ipsum in filio desideraretur"²⁶. Bernard Millican has speculated, properly, in light of the circumstances of the child's birth, that had the boy lived to be king, he would have reigned as Arthur II; but then the Prince died young, on 2 April 1502, at the age of fifteen²⁷.

Three courtiers, all continental humanists, all more or less established but still seeking advancement at the new English court of Henry VII, Bernard André²⁸, Giovanni Gigli²⁹, and Pietro Carmeliano³⁰, wrote

²⁴ The appearance of the name "Garethe" confirms that Caxton's Malory was the source of the names of Arthur's knights inscribed around the circumference of the Winchester Round Table, as Loomis points out, *Arthurian Legends*, p. 41; see also Field, p. 204.

²⁵ "The Finding of the Manuscript", in *Essays on Malory*, ed. J.A.W. Bennett (Oxford, 1963), pp. 2-3.

²⁶ John Twyne, *De rebus Albionis* (c. 1540), quoted in Millican, p. 18; on the date of Twyne's work, see Kendrick, pp. 105-106.

²⁷ Millican, p. 21; see also S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, pp. 285, 302-303.

²⁸ On Bernard André, see Gairdner, *Memorials of King Henry the Seventh*, pp. viii-xxiii; Gairdner's article on him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 1 (London, 1885), 398-399; Gilbert Tournoy, "Two Poems Written by Erasmus for Bernard André", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 27 (1978), 45-51; Id., "Bernard André", in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, ed. P.G. Bietenholz - T.B. Deutscher, 3 vols (Toronto-Buffalo-London, 1985-87), I, 52-53.

²⁹ On Giovanni Gigli, see Mandell Creighton's article on him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 7 (London, 1890), 1190; Roberto Weiss, "Lineamenti di una biografia di Giovanni Gigli", *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*, 1 (1947), 379-389; and Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen, "Het vroegste Latijnse humanistische epithalamium in Engeland", *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 32 (1978), 169-180.

³⁰ On Pietro Carmeliano, see James Gairdner's article on him in the *Dictionary of*

Latin poems in honor of the birth of the Prince and presented their poems at court. Bernard André had been born to a distinguished family in Toulouse c. 1452, and was a Friar of the Augustinian Order. He had been introduced to Henry of Richmond, perhaps by Richard Foxe, Henry's principal secretary of state from 1485, while Henry was still in exile in France; and André is thought to have then come to England, with or shortly before Henry, in 1485. Giovanni Gigli was Italian, but had been born in Bruges c. 1434 and was brought by his parents to England while he was still a child. He studied at Oxford³¹ and subsequently styled himself *juris utriusque doctor*. He was papal collector for Sixtus IV during the 1470s and found favour with Edward IV, who appointed him a canon of Wells Cathedral in 1478; but he received no further preferments during the reign of Richard III. Like Gigli, the third poet, Pietro Carmeliano, was an Italian, born in Brescia in 1451. Although he too seems to have been a religious or to have taken orders at some point, he had a rather different kind of career than either of the other writers. After some years of itinerant humanism on the Continent, Carmeliano arrived in England in 1481, as one of that series of free-lance Italian intellectuals, including Stefano Surigono, Cornelio Vitelli, and Caio Auberino, who came to England seeking advancement during the fifteenth century³². He may have found a minor secretarial or administrative position in the chancery at Rolls House by 1482; but by 1483, Carmeliano was doing editorial work for the Oxford printer Theodorick Rood, and he may have moved from London to Oxford in 1483, where he could have supported himself with teaching also. Then again, by 1486, Carmeliano seems to have been back in London, doing editorial work for William Caxton.

Each of these three men profited during the reign of Henry VII, and

National Biography, vol. 3 (London, 1887), 1036-1037; Paolo Guerrini, *Pietro Carmeliano da Brescia, segretario reale d'Inghilterra* (Brescia, 1918); Roberto Weiss, "Cornelio Vitelli in France and England", *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 2 (1939), 223-224, and *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1941), pp. 170-172; C.A.J. Armstrong, *Dominic Mancini: The Usurpation of Richard the Third*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1969), p. 19 and n.1; M. Firpo's article on him in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 20 (Rome, 1977), 410-413; Anna Modigliani, "Un nuovo manoscritto di Pietro Carmeliano", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 33 (1984), 96-102; and G. Tournoy, "Petrus Carmelianus", in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, I, 270; on Carmeliano's association with Caxton, see N.F. Blake, *Caxton and His World* (London, 1969), pp. 196-197.

³¹ Tournoy-Thoen, "Het vroegste Latijnse humanistische epithalamium in Engeland", p. 171.

³² Weiss, "Cornelio Vitelli," p. 219.

their poems in honor of the birth of Prince Arthur probably contributed to their advancement. Soon after Henry acceded to the throne, Bernard André was granted a pension as the King's poet-laureate, and later acted as tutor to Prince Arthur, and perhaps also to the future Henry VIII. About 1500, he seems to have retired from active court life, to devote more time to his historical writings, and from that time, he received a series of minor ecclesiastical preferments, the last of which he resigned in 1521. His latest poem, in which he describes himself as extremely aged, dates from 1522, and he probably died soon after that year. Henry VII was fairly generous with Giovanni Gigli too. After a series of somewhat lesser preferments, Henry nominated Gigli to the bishopric of Worcester in August 1497; but immediately after having been consecrated to this see by Pope Alexander VI in Rome, he died there in August 1498. And Pietro Carmeliano began receiving a crown pension from Henry VII in September 1486, the month of Prince Arthur's birth. From this point, Carmeliano maintained himself quite profitably in the royal favour for the rest of his life: he was Latin secretary and chaplain to Henry VII, then King's tutor to Henry VIII; he received a number of minor, but concurrent and remunerative ecclesiastical preferments; he owned and sold land in England; and he had commercial interests as well. Carmeliano died in August 1527.

Even though these men were favored with royal patronage during the reign of Henry VII, none of their poems for Prince Arthur's birth made much of the name that Henry had given his son; the poems do little to corroborate the myth of Arthurian heritage, on which Henry seems to have wanted to base the authority of his dynasty, and which Henry does seem to have fostered, at least by naming his heir Arthur. Instead, Henry's court poets substituted myths of classical antiquity for the Arthurian myth of the Middle Ages that the occasion seems to have been designed to offer them; they replaced the medieval fiction of Arthurian heritage and authority with antique fictions, the Roman triumph, Vergilian messianism and the Golden Age, and the Homeric council of the gods, in effect denying the political value of the Arthur myth, even perhaps seeming to knock the prop of Arthurian ancestry out from under Henry's somewhat shaky authority.

III. Poems for the Birth

1. Bernard André's *Carmina*

Bernard André tells us that "centum a nobis carmina composita sunt" in honour of the birth of the Prince, but he included only thirty-five verses of a single, perhaps incomplete poem in his *Vita Henrici Septimi*. The verses have a shapeliness to them that suggests they are a complete poem; but André maintains that he had included only an abbreviated version of his work, either because "dum felicitatem quam portendebant [carmina], et rursus calamitatem lachrymosamque toti regno tempestatem insperato contingentem ob ipsius immaturam principis mortem considero, haeret mediusfidius lingua pallato", as he says later, or, as he says to begin with, "propter prolixitatem"³³.

The irony about these framing remarks' prolixity, that they are used to explain André's efforts to reduce the prolixity of his verses, is matched by a more general, if less certainly conscious irony about his verses themselves: André's poem in celebration of an occasion important for fifteenth-century English history and for the unfolding of the Arthur legend is founded on deliberate anachronism. The poem asks that "Principis et nomen sua quisque ad pocula dicat" (16), simply and decorously enough; but then it also enjoins the burghers of London to bind their brows with festal garlands and shout *yo pean*, while the *tibia* sounds in the background and they hold feasts and festival games (5, 7, 13-15). The child's father is to take part in the festivities; but again, he is to be crowned "triumphali lauro" (17) and is to discharge his votive duties at the altars, so that god will nod favorably on his son (18-19). A bishop, with a proper mitre, and his attendants, singing proper hymns (21, 23), are also to participate; but then André calls the bishop a "togatus antistes" (21-22), and describes him and his retinue as imprecating the *numina sancta* (24). André is making an elaborate, fantastic fiction, by the terms of which the citizens of fifteenth-century London are transformed into the wholesome Roman plebs of antiquity, enjoying a day of bread and circuses in honour of their next Caesar; Henry VII, mundane enough to have been felt capable of restoring reason to the mad Joanna of Castile³⁴, is transformed into Caesar himself, in

³³ *Vita Henrici Septimi*, ed. Gairdner, pp. 41, 42.

³⁴ Levine, pp. 44.

triumph; and the Catholic authorities are become votaries on the Capitoline, making sacrifice at their altars and pouring out libations.

André's poem presumably pleased the taste for such humanistic fictions just then nascent at the English court and in England, even if it does so in a perhaps underhanded way: André borrows heavily from Tibullus, and Tibullus cannot then have been very well known in England³⁵. Nevertheless, the significant thing about André's poem is something it omits to do in its present form: the poem says nothing about King Arthur³⁶. It says little enough about the new-born Prince Arthur: only that the boy has been "Olimpo missus ab ethereo" as the "nostri spes altera regni" (8-9), and that "quoniam genium sic indicat", the child "splendida facta parentis/ Augeat et proavos vincat pietate vel armis" (25-27). It says nothing at all, however, about the significance of the child's name. Elsewhere in the *Vita Henrici*, in the prose introduction to his birthday poem, André points out that Prince Arthur was born when "orta Arcturi stella"³⁷, as if the child had been named for the star; but throughout the *Vita Henrici*, in all his mentions of the Prince, this is all André ever says about the Prince's name; nowhere does André make even a nominal link between Prince Arthur and King Arthur. The effect of this omission, particularly striking in the context of the birthday poem, is to deny significance to Henry VII's choice of a name for his son and heir; André could have, and presumably would have, celebrated the birth of an heir by any name with the same antique fiction.

2. Gigli's *Epigrams* and *Genethliacon*

Giovanni Gigli wrote three poems for the birth of the Prince, two brief epigrams in elegiacs, of sixteen and twelve lines, and a longer *Genethliacon*, of 102 hendecasyllabics. Like Bernard André, Gigli invokes a humanistic fiction of antiquity, by which the festivities for the

³⁵ On André's borrowings from Tibullus, see the notes to lines 19, 25-26, and 32-35 of his poem, below p. 167-8. Three Italian editions of Tibullus had been published in 1472, 1475, and 1481; the Aldine edition was not printed until 1502.

³⁶ It is probable, however, that those portions of the original poem concerned with the Prince's prospects were both most likely to have mentioned King Arthur and most likely to have been suppressed in the version of the poem that survives.

³⁷ *Vita Henrici Septimi*, ed. Gairdner, p. 41. See also Sydney Anglo's discussion of the symbolic extension of André's point in the London pageant series staged for Katherine of Aragon in 1501, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 61-64.

child's birth become a Roman-style triumph, celebrated by the *plebs et senatus* (*Genethliacon*, 89) of London:

... Ergo alacres choros frequentet
Festos; nunc iuvenis simul senexque,
Et nupta atque agili puella gressu
Exultet, celeres agens choreas;
Dulces auribus intonare cantus
Et quitquid modulis solet canoris,
Et risus facilis sonet iocusque.

(*Genethliacon*, 73-79)

The recurrence of this fiction indicates that again, as in Bernard André's poem, in spite of the Prince's name, Gigli conceives the child's birth and would praise it largely in terms taken from antiquity; so even though Gigli does mention King Arthur, as Bernard André had not, still Gigli subordinates the encomiastic possibilities of the Prince's name to those of antiquity and subordinates England's most proximate medieval, Arthurian heritage to a putative classical one.

In his second epigram, entitled *De nomine Arturi*, Gigli does enjoin:

Arturi rediere boni non nomina tantum
Credite, sed redeunt inclita facta viri.

(5-6)

But then Gigli credits prediction of the return of King Arthur to a Roman style *vates maximus*, who "consiliis superum ... affuit" (3-4), so subordinating nominally Galfridian prophecy to Roman-style vaticination, and putting the birth of the Prince on a level with the messianic advents of antiquity.

Fulfilment of the Galfridian prophecy of Arthur's return by the birth of Prince Arthur is averred again in Gigli's *Genethliacon* and, as it had been in the second epigram, is attributed to *veteres vates*:

Hic est quem veteres videre vates
Venturum Angligenis pium patronum:
Arturus, patrie pater decusque,
Promissus populis videndus atque
Post tot secula restitutus olim.

(12-16)

But in this poem too, the so-propheesied birth of the Prince restores not the glory of England's medieval, Arthurian past. Instead, as does the birth of the *puer* in Vergil's fourth, messianic Eclogue, the birth of the Prince brings back the bucolic leisure of the Golden Age: upon the birth of the Prince,

Non tauri gravibus gemant aratris,
 Non pensis mulier vacato, et omnis
 Luce hac sepositus labor quiescat.

(80-82)

There is nothing specifically Arthurian about the Galfridian prophecies as they are used here: they predict not a second coming of King Arthur so much as the coming of a Vergilian messiah, and what is restored by the birth of the Prince is described in Gigli's poems as the ancient *aetas aurea*.

The birth of the Prince, then, is the return of antique origins — “*Antiqui redeunt, io, triumphi/ Antiquos etiam licet redisse/ Mores*” (59-61) — as the treatment of the issue of descent in the *Genethliacon* also makes clear. Gigli begins with an apology for how far short of the dignity of the event his hendecasyllabics fall; more polished, heroic hexameters, carved out by the *calamis Maronianis*, would be better, he says, averring not only the falling short of the event of his efforts but also his falling away from his atavar, who is Vergil. Similarly, the comparison of Henry VII to the Caesars in whom the Romans rejoiced (25-28) serves to situate him too in an antique line of descent, even though Henry's having fallen away from or short of his ancestry is implicitly denied; and then naturally the new born Prince is the “*Henrici soboles boni parentis/ Regis*” (17-18) in the same line of descent. The purpose of lining up these several descents is to argue against them; they serve to situate Gigli's assertion that the Prince's birth cancels the damages of descent or falling away and restores things to the state of their origins, that “*Vires restituit dies priores/ Ista*” (54-55) in their original antique forms. Since the lines of inheritance sketched out in the poem, for Gigli the poet, for Henry the king, and for his son, are all of classical origin, the Prince's birth cancels falling away from classical antiquity, rather than from a medieval, Arthurian heritage.

3. Carmeliano's *Suasoria Laeticiae*

Pietro Carmeliano's *Suasoria Laeticiae*, by far the longest of the court birthday poems, at 304 lines of elegiac distichs, invokes many of the same classical myths and fictions as the poems of Bernard André and Giovanni Gigli. But it is at the same time also a good deal more historical and self-conscious about its treatment of history, than the work of either of the other poets. Carmeliano's *Suasoria* tells briefly of

the fortunes of Henry VI and Edward IV (85 ff.); it includes accusations against Richard III, that he personally had murdered Henry VI (91-92; and cf. 142-143) and the two princes in the Tower of London (88); and it narrates at some length the exile of Richmond (113-118, 145-158), his return from France to Milford Haven (159-184), the battle of Bosworth Field (189-206), his acclamation as Henry VII (207-224), and his courtship and marriage to Elizabeth of York (225-252).

But Carmeliano has set these historical narrations in the frame of another antique fiction, like Bernard André's Roman triumph in fifteenth-century London for the birth of a Tudor prince. At the beginning of Carmeliano's *Suasoria*, the *sancti* gather in heaven, convoked by God, who has looked down on England, seen that in consequence of the "odium antiquum geminae de sanguine regum/Stirpis", "Undique civili cum sanguine terra maderet" (3-4, 7), has pitied England, and would have counsel; the *sancti* nominate Henry VI to speak for them³⁸, and he advises God to deliver his *nepos* (111, 129) Henry of Richmond from his captivity,

ut armatus debita iura petat
Ac patrium repetat regnum, saevumque tyrannum
Expellat, patriam restituatque suam.

(130-132)

God concurs.

Much as the fiction of antiquity in Giovanni Gigli's *Genethliacon* had served to put the birth of Prince Arthur on a level with the birth of Vergil's messiah, so this *concilium deorum* in Carmeliano's *Suasoria* serves to put England's dynastic struggles on a level with the great struggles of antiquity, the Trojan War, the struggle of the Seven Against Thebes, and the Roman *bellum civile*, on which the gods had also looked down. In fact, according to Carmeliano's God, England's civil *furores* are greater than their antique antecedents:

'Sit modis his,' dixit, 'bellis tantoque furori:
Romanos satis est exuperasse duces.
Non gener atque socer (quamvis ea bella fuerunt
Maxima) non Marius, non quoque Sylla ferox
Hauserunt tantum Romani sanguinis unquam,
Imperium licet his, vis quoque maior erat.

(19-24)

³⁸ As had the burghers of Worcester in their pageant series for Henry VII of 1486, for probably the same reason: Henry VI was "a Lancastrian saint;" see Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, pp. 37-43.

The fiction and its function are much the same in Carmeliano's poem as they had been in the work of Bernard André and Giovanni Gigli: fifteenth-century England is glorified by such comparison to antiquity. Unlike either André or Gigli, however, even while Carmeliano still insists on his fiction of antiquity — the God Carmeliano describes is still "paterque hominumque deorum" (69); the counsels of the *sancti* still "placuerunt ... Tonanti" (137) — Carmeliano is quite self-conscious and even ironic about his misapplication of antique myths to his historical present; he was aware of the incongruity involved in Christian *sancti* counselling the Christian God like so many pagan deities intriguing with Juppiter. The assembled *sancti* respond to God's request for counsel by reminding their "omnipotens genitor" that their advice should be needless to him, "Singula namque vides; per te, tu singula nosti" (54-55); and Henry VI apologizes to God for telling him "Qua queat hic tolli bellicus arte furor", "quamvis Deus omnia nosti" (79-80).

The incongruity of his *consilium sanctorum* that Carmeliano points out even in the course of his poem is only one such incongruity or discontinuity about the text. For example, the poem begins with God looking down on England's miseries, not yet having taken any decision on what to do about them; then the narrative present of the *concilium* section of the poem is abandoned in favour of a more typically mediated account of events — the poem becomes an history told in the past tense, about things that have already happened, by a narrator looking back in time. Finally, this temporal, chronological discontinuity in the way events are related is compounded by a more complete discontinuity of voice. The narrator concludes his work with appropriately final things, the birth of the Prince and the promised future of England:

Nascitur ecce puer, gemino de sanguine regum,
Firma salus regni, perpetuumque decus.

(257-258)

and then the manuscript offers a new rubric, as detailed, as weighty as the title on the first folio: "Exortatio Laeticiae ad Angliam pro Nato Principe et Rege ac Regina Nobilissimis"³⁹, as if beginning all over again, with this substantive, formal mark of inception; the rest of the poem is the direct address of the personification, *Laeticia*.

³⁹ This is in fact only the longest, most emphatic of the series of interlinear rubrics distributed throughout the poem that serve to break the whole text up into formally discontinuous sections.

There are verbal and thematic connections between the earlier part or parts of the poem and *Laetitia's* exhortation: she repeats the Vergilian refrain "nascitur ecce puer" (263); and she says of the Queen, who earlier had been likened to Diana, Cassandra, Lucretia, and Galathea (237-240), the King, who earlier had been likened to Apollo (217-218), and their child, that "quicumque videt dixerit esse deos" (300). But then also it is in this part of the poem that the Galfridian prophecy of King Arthur's return is finally raised, and that the discontinuity of the Prince's birth from the medieval heritage that his name and the Galfridian form of the prophecy would indicate is finally confirmed.

Laetitia recalls the medieval prophecy in much the same Vergilian terms that Giovanni Gigli had used in his second epigram and his *Genethliacon*; the words are at many points identical, and Carmeliano remakes the Galfridian prophecy in terms of Vergil's classical prophecy of the return of the ancient Golden Age much as had Gigli:

Arthurus rediit, per saecula tanta sepultus,
 Qui regum mundi prima corona fuit.
 Ille licet corpus terris et membra dedisset,
 Vivebat toto semper in orbe tamen;
 Arthurum quisquis praedixerat esse secundo
 Venturum, vates maximus ille fuit:
 Arthuri nomen terras penetravit in omnes,
 Perpetuum faciunt fortia facta virum.
 Aurea iam redeunt cum principe saecula tanto;
 Quaeque diu latuit, iam dea virgo redit;
 Bellica iam tandem rediit cum principe virtus,
 Antiquumque decus, Anglia pulchra, tuum.

(265-276)

Carmeliano's poem has discontinuity built into it in many ways, ethically and formally, in the voices that speak and the times they speak in and about; but this is the thematic discontinuity that Carmeliano has been working towards all along: here where the Galfridian prophecy becomes Vergil's messianism, when *aurea iam redeunt secula* again with the birth of Prince Arthur to Henry Tudor, is the point at which the poem's ambition to represent a late medieval event in classical terms is best realized. The birth of Prince Arthur Tudor looks not to fulfilling the medieval Galfridian prophecy and restoring the medieval, Arthurian glory that Henry VII himself would seem to have wanted to emphasize rather than deny, by his choice of name and site for the birth; instead, the birth fulfills Vergil's prophecy and restores classical *saecula* and the *aetas aurea*.

IV. Conclusion

The success that these three poets had by writing such poems for the birth of the Prince, in spite of Henry's apparent desire to strengthen the legitimacy of his reign by use of medieval, Arthurian legend, can be attributed to two causes: first, the negative one of the status of the Arthurian legend late in the fifteenth century. Doubts about the historicity of King Arthur seem to have grown steadily from the beginning of the fifteenth century, along with humanism⁴⁰ and new humanist historiographical habits: the Italian Polydor Vergil was commissioned to write his official, predictably humanist *Anglica historia*, in spite of opposition to him by Bernard André, by Henry VII himself⁴¹; William Caxton says that he had doubted the existence of a King Arthur, though he claimed his doubts were cleared by the time he published Malory in 1485⁴²; and beginning in the 1430s with John Whethamstede, a series of native English historians, including Thomas Rudborne, John Capgrave, Robert Fabian and John Rastell, had expressed doubts about the historicity of Arthur, as was even then generally known⁴³.

The advent of the Tudor dynasty, with its genealogical claims to descent from King Arthur, by making belief in an historical Arthur an article of political faith, would appear to have arrested the progress of this humanist revisionism about him to some extent, at least in public discourse. The controversy that erupted on publication of Polydor Vergil's work denying the existence of Arthur in 1534, which ended with belief in an historical Arthur reduced to its present levels by the beginning of the seventeenth century, for all the vast knowledge of Polydor's principal adversary John Leland, was basically a conflict between this political demand imposed on historiography by the Tudor claim to descent from Arthur and the more disinterested humanist historiography that had been growing steadily in England since before the accession of the Tudors⁴⁴.

⁴⁰ As documented by Roberto Weiss, esp. *Humanism in England*.

⁴¹ Edwin Greenlaw, "The Battle of the Books", in *Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory* (Baltimore, 1932), pp. 2-7.

⁴² See his preface to *Le Morte d'Arthur* (1485), ed. Blake, pp. 5-8.

⁴³ Bale made a list including most of these names in his commentary on Leland's "New Year's Gift," Greenlaw, p. 17 and n.; and cf. Kendrick, pp. 34-5 and 41.

⁴⁴ On the sixteenth-century controversy over the historicity of King Arthur, see Greenlaw, "The Battle of the Books," pp. 1-58; and James Carley, "Polydor Vergil and John Leland on King Arthur", *Interpretations*, 15 (1984), 86-100.

The controversy about Arthur of the 1530s and later is itself evidence for a Tudor myth of Arthurian descent; the zeal with which the polemics were pursued is difficult to explain otherwise⁴⁵. But even without Polydor Vergil, and in spite of the remarkable thoroughness and learning with which John Leland made the case for an historical Arthur, a revision of the received medieval historiography of Arthur would have come eventually, of the native growth of humanist historical habits. Doubts about the existence of Arthur were already abroad in England before Henry VII came to the throne; and even in spite of Tudor claims to Arthurian ancestry and the political constraints the claims placed on historical perceptions, Arthur was perhaps already generally regarded as an historically negligible figure in educated, courtly circles by 1486⁴⁶.

Representations of King Arthur in courtly entertainments corroborate a pattern of decline in esteem for him by late in the fifteenth century; here too, Arthur seems to have become negligible. Representation of Arthur as a dramatic figure seems to have begun during the first quarter of the thirteenth century⁴⁷, and such representations probably contributed to the eventual perception of Arthur as a figure of fictions rather than history. More importantly, such dramatic representations of Arthur were aristocratic affairs initially, but by the end of the thirteenth century, the urban patriciate had begun to use originally noble Arthurian traditions for its own entertainments⁴⁸.

In England, Edward I, aided by his friend Roger Mortimer, made particularly extensive use of Arthurian fictions in the entertainments of his reign; Edward's grandson Edward III, aided by the grandson of Roger Mortimer, made the earlier part of his reign a second period of particularly frequent invocation of the figure of Arthur in royal entertainments, the last of which took place at Windsor Castle in 1345⁴⁹. But with Edward's foundation of the Order of the Garter in 1348, Arthurian entertainments seem to have died out in England for a time; according to Loomis, "there was a marked decline in the prestige of things Arthurian at the English court and in the metropolis [London] between

⁴⁵ Kendrick, p. 38.

⁴⁶ Kendrick, p. 42.

⁴⁷ Loomis, "Chivalric and Dramatic Imitations", pp. 79-80.

⁴⁸ See the evidence introduced by Loomis, "Chivalric and Dramatic Imitations", pp. 81, 84, 87.

⁴⁹ On the Arthurian enthusiasms of these two Edwards, see Loomis, "Chivalric and Dramatic Imitations", pp. 81-82, 91-95, and "Edward I, Arthurian Enthusiast", *Speculum*, 28 (1953), 114-127; and Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry* (London, 1981).

1350 and the accession of the Tudors"⁵⁰. Arthurian entertainments do seem to have disappeared from England during the foreign wars and domestic factionalism of the fifteenth century; and it was not until the reign of Elizabeth that Arthur figured frequently again in courtly — that is to say, royal or aristocratic — entertainments as he had up to the middle of the fourteenth century⁵¹.

But before the reign of Elizabeth, Arthur had already begun to reappear in bourgeois spectacles, during the second half of the fifteenth century. In 1456, the guildsmen of Coventry greeted Margaret of Anjou with a pageant of the Nine Worthies, in which Arthur had a pageant and speech to himself; the Janitor in the spectacle mounted by the burghers of Worcester in 1486 to greet Henry VII likened the new monarch to King Arthur; and the Emperor Charles V was welcomed in 1522 by the civic authorities of London with a pageant of the Round Table, King Arthur, and "all the noble prynces thatt were wunder his obeisaunce". Some of these late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century bourgeois Arthurian entertainments were mounted for Prince Arthur: he was greeted at Coventry in 1498 with general words of welcome by a King Arthur; and St. Ursula, of whose "lynage cam Arthur the wyse, noble and vaylaunt kyng that in this region was ffyrst of his name", welcomed Prince Arthur's betrothed, Katherine of Aragon, to London in 1501⁵².

The likelihood of skepticism about Arthur in educated circles, and apparent neglect of him in courtly entertainments, combined with this evidence for bourgeois appropriation of the figure of King Arthur in bourgeois entertainments, may help to explain why Henry VII made the kind of gestures he did to associate himself with Arthur in popular perceptions — displaying banners and naming his heir Arthur — and why such gestures were not made at court, by the poets who wrote in honor of the birth of the Prince: the Arthur myth was viable propaganda for the urban middle class, but not for an aristocracy jealous of its prerogatives and perhaps vaguely resentful of bourgeois usurpations in general, nor for an educated élite, increasingly humanist in its orientation and increasingly skeptical about King Arthur.

⁵⁰ "Chivalric and Dramatic Imitations", p. 82.

⁵¹ On the reemergence of courtly Arthurianism during the reign of Elizabeth, particularly after c. 1580, see Josephine Waters Bennett, *The Evolution of the 'Faerie Queene'* (Chicago, 1942), pp. 61-79; and also I.L. Schultze, "Notes on Elizabethan Chivalry and the *Faerie Queene*", *Studies in Philology*, 30 (1933), 148-159, and Francis Yates, "Elizabethan Chivalry", in *Astraea* (London, 1975), pp. 88-111.

⁵² Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, pp. 31, 54, 61, 195.

Finally, the success that Bernard André, Giovanni Gigli, and Pietro Carmeliano had writing poems in honor of the birth of Prince Arthur that made so little of the Arthurian myth may be attributable, more positively, to the political appeals of classical humanism for the court of Henry VII and the relation between England's political past and its future that classical humanism implied. By framing Henry's accession and Arthur's eventual inheritance in terms discontinuous with the medieval literary past of the Arthur myth, these poets avoided obligation to medieval literary tradition, as good classical humanists; and in doing so, they also denied Henry and his son any literary connection with the past of the Middle Ages. The literary past of Arthurian legend that the poets thus avoided had also been a political past of civil war and the overthrow of established monarchs; so the poets' denial of the Middle Ages, implicit in the alternate images of the birth that they created, spoke of a more important long term political project than legitimizing Henry's accession by means of the Arthur myth.

Henry's humanist poets found little poetic use for the medieval past of the Arthur myth in a political situation in which their monarch, even though his immediate need to establish his legitimacy may have been served in certain quarters by associating himself with the feudal legacy of Arthur, stood to benefit more in the long term from an analogous suppression of medieval political traditions. By substituting fictions of Roman imperial glory, Vergilian messianism, and epic war for the Arthur myth, and so dissociating the birth of Prince Arthur from its medieval literary antecedents, the poets envisaged, if only by analogy, a solution to the so-called Tudor Problem⁵³: freeing the Tudor dynasty from the threat of independent exercise of power by a feudal, medieval aristocracy. That threat had made the fifteenth-century dynastic struggles possible, but was now countered by the advent of the Tudors. The accession of Henry VII and then the birth of an heir to him were the political version of the solution to the problem of the immediate medieval past that Henry's court poets anticipated for him in making classical images, discontinuous with medieval traditions, for the birth of Prince Arthur.

Dept. of English
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas 75275

⁵³ G.R. Elton, *England Under the Tudors*, 2nd ed. (London, 1974), pp. 1-17.

V. Texts

I. Bernard André: [*Carmina in natalem principis*]MS.: London, British Library, Cotton Domitian XVIII, ff. 174^v-176^r.Edition: James Gairdner, *Memorials of King Henry the Seventh*, pp. 41-42.

- Pergite nascentem puerum celebrare, Camene, f. 174^v
 Et prolem claris ducentem regibus ortum;
 Solempnem celebrare diem redimite decenti,
 Angli, flore comas et cingite tempora sertis.
- 5 Tibia det sonitum, pueri tenereque puelle
 Et choreas agitent et plausibus ethera pulsent,
 Letaque festivos tractet Londinia ludos. f. 175^r
 Regius ecce puer Arturus surgit, Olimpo
 Missus ab ethereo, nostri spes altera regni;
- 10 Spargite humum viridi permixta floribus herba,
 Et cedente die dent leta incendia lucem.
 Fastus adest felixque dies, celeberrimus Anglis;
 Vulgus 'yo pean', 'yo pean' curia dicat.
 Instaurent epulis mensas et pocula libent;
- 15 Alterutrumque bibant pleno cratere Lyeum,
 Principis et nomen sua quisque ad pocula dicat.
 Vosque, triumphali devincti tempora lauro,
 Aris digna Deo persolvite vota, parentes, f. 175^v
 Annuat ut nato quodcunque, Henrice, rogabis.
- 20 Nec tamen interea cessent solempnia templis,
 Sed pastorali mitra bissoque togatus
 Antistes Christi sacrum de more ministret;
 Inde sacerdotes magnis cum laudibus hympnos
 Vociferent blandos et numina sancta precentur,
- 25 Ut puerum foveant, qui splendida facta parentis

5 cingite: cinginte *ante corr.*16 Principis et: Principisque *ante corr.*1 Cf. Verg., *Buc.* 6.13: Pergite, Pierides.8-9 Cf. Verg., *Buc.* 4.7.: nova progenies caelo demittitur alto; *Aen.*, VIII 319: ab aetherio ... Olympo.9 Cf. Verg., *Aen.* VI 168: Ascanius, magnae spes altera Romae.

19 Cf. Tib. II 2.9: adnuat et, Cornute, tibi quodcumque rogabis.

24 Verg., *Aen.* III 543: numina sancta precamur.

25-26 Cf. Tib. I 7.55-56: at tibi succrescat proles, quae facta parentis/ augeat.

- Augeat et proavos vincat pietate vel armis.
 Et faciet, quoniam **genium** sic indicat; ergo
 Dum matutinos producet Lucifer ortus, f. 176^r
 Hesperus occiduas dum Phebum flectet ad undas,
 30 Dumque vices certas et volvet stellifer orbis,
 Annua tam celebris veneremur festa diei,
 Urantur pia thura focis, urantur odores
 Divite quos felix emittit Arabia terra.
 Ipse suos veniat genius visurus honores
 35 Et puro ipsius distillent tempora nardo.

29 flectet *Tournoy*: plectet *MS.*, *Gairdner* 32 pia thura: piatur thura *ante corr.*;
 odores: oodores *ante corr.* 34 visurus *sup. lineam*

26 *proavos vincat pietate vel armis*: perhaps an allusion to the distinctive capabilities of the Lancastrian kings Henry VI and Henry V; but cf. Verg., *Aen.* I 544-545: rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter/ nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis; *Aen.* VI 403: pietate insignis et armis; *Aen.* VI 769-770: pietate vel armis/ egregius.

32-35 Cf. Tib. II 2.3-5, 7: urantur pia tura focis, urantur odores,/ quos tener e terra divite mittit Arabs./ ipse suos Genius adsit visurus honores,/ ... / illius puro destillent tempora nardo.

II. Giovanni Gigli: *Epigramma in natalem principis*MS.: London, British Library, Harley 336, f. 82^v.Epigramma in Natalem Serenissimi Principis
Filii Serenissimi Regis Henrici Septimif. 82^v

- Henricûm suboles, dudum promissa Britannis,
 E celo veniens, nascere, magne puer;
 Tolle moras; tenere vexas cur membra parentis?
 Tempora natali commoda cuncta tuo.
- 5 Te nascente redit Anglis pax, reddita terris
 Et pudor et pietas et decus omne simul.
 Principe te gemine cessabunt invida partis
 Discidia, et populo dux sacer unus eris.
 O iucunda nimis, et festis inclita in evum
- 10 Concelebranda choris, lux memoranda, veni!
 Ecce ades: o tanto salve sanctissima partu,
 Altera qua regni creditur esse salus
 Edita; tuque, puer, magnos visure parentes
 Vive senes, illis conspitiende senex.
- 15 Ipse animum genitor, formam prestabit uterque;
 Ac mores vite, tempora longa Deus.

3 Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV 569: Rumpe moras, and Hor., *Epod.* 6.1: Quid immerentis hospites vexas.

5-6 Cf. Hor., *Carm. Saec.* 46-48: di, ... / Romulae genti date remque prolemque/ et decus omne; and 57-59: Fides et Pax et Honos Pudorque/ priscus et neglecta redire Virtus/ audet.

16 Cf. Hor., *Carm. Saec.* 45: di, probos mores docili iuventae [date].

III. Giovanni Gigli: *Epigramma de nomine Arturi*MS.: London, British Library, Harley 336, f. 83^rAliud Epigramma de Nomine Arturi
Indito Ipsi Serenissimo Principif. 83^r

- Quicumque Arturum vates predixerat olim
 Venturum reducem, maximus ille fuit;
 Consiliis superûm — iamiam cognoscere fas est —
 Affuit: en, dictis prestitit ipse fidem.
- 5 Arturi rediere boni non nomina tantum,
 Credite, sed redeunt inclita facta viri:
 Nunc sperare licet, Bruti, tibi terra triumphos;
 Nunc tibi pax parta est; nunc tibi certa quies.
- Ergo alacris trino tanto pro munere grates,
 10 Anglia, redde pias ac bona vota Deo;
 Henrico et faveas: potuit tibi surgere princeps
 Non alio patrie de genitore pater.

Tit. Indito: Inclito *ante corr.*

IV. Giovanni Gigli: *Genethliacon in principem Arturum*MS.: London, British Library, Harley 336, ff. 83^v - 86^r.

Genethliacon in Illustrissimum Principem f. 83^v
 Dominum Arthurum Serenissimi Regis Anglie et Francie
 Henrici Septimi Filium. Metrum Endecasillabum

- Septembris canimus — favete Muse —
 Sextum qui sequitur diem beatum
 Post idus, calamis Maronianis
 Dicendum potius. Michi sat esto
 5 Temptare endecasillabos minores;
 Arturi celebrem diem sacrare
 Heroo poterunt disertiores,
 Alto quis liceat tonare versu,
 Cartis perpetuis boni poete,
 10 Atque evo melius legendum in omni
 Seclis condere postmodum futuris.
 Hic est quem veteres videre vates
 Venturum Angligenis pium patronum:
 Arturus, patrie pater decusque,
 15 Promissus populis videndus atque
 Post tot secula restitutus olim,
 Henrici suboles, boni parentis
 Regis; nominis ipse sanctioris f. 84^r
 Heres septima scepra qui gubernat,
 20 Pressit qui rabiem furentis hostis,
 Victor magnanimus, quietis auctor,
 Ultor sanguinis innocentioris,
 Nuper qui domuit malos rebelles,
 Pacis gloria, tutor et bonorum.
 25 Quantum Romulides suo Camillo
 Gaudent, Cesaribus Fabritiisve,

3 Maronianis: Marotianis MS.

23 *malos rebelles*: Humphrey and Thomas Stafford and Francis Lovell had led an abortive Yorkist insurrection against Henry VII in April 1486; see C.H. Williams, "The Rebellion of Humphrey Stafford in 1486", *English Historical Review*, 43 (1928), 181-189.

- Altis nominibus vel Affricanis,
Vos tantum merito parente tali
Gaudete atque hylares diem decorum,
30 Angli, candidulo notate saxo,
Et festum memores habete semper.
O quantum superis, Britanne, debes;
O quantum pariter parenti utrique,
Lux per quos micuit tibi salutis,
35 Pignus perpetue datum quietis.
Natali ergo animis adeste totis
Arturi atque hylari favete plausu:
Festo conpita personent tumultu,
Nec templis celebres negate honores
40 Quicumque aut cupitis scelus piare,
Delere aut veterum nephas parentum:
Civilis furor, execrandus olim,
Heu partis gemine rubens cruore,
Struxit quod nimium licentiosus.
45 Iamiam pax rediit, metusque et omnis
Bellorum procul hinc timor refugit;
Ad hostes properat: caveto quisquis
Hostem te Angligenis cupis videri.
Concordes animi viris, nec ullus
50 Iam partes meminit solum beatum;
Unum nunc dominum fatemur omnes;
Henrico pariter pioque nato
Unus nunc populus subesse gaudet;
Vires restituit dies priores
55 Ista ac divitias potentis olim.
Quis victa est totiens domus superba
Franci, quis cecidit feroxque Scotus,
Gaudete, o iuvenes boni senesque:
Antiqui redeunt, io, triumphi,
60 Antiquos etiam licet redisse
Mores; presidibus tantis, nec ulli
Vis nunc est misero manus timenda,
Nec vultus nimium truces avari;
Raptoris scelus hinc procul repulsum

f. 84^vf. 85^r

- 65 Omne, et Iusticie locus reducte,
 Que secum comitem ducens Pudorem
 Ad nos a superis redit vocata.
 Omnes Iniurie, valet; namque
 Et pax et pietas amorque recti
- 70 Et fas invaluit timorque legum.
 Felix principe tellus Anglicana,
 Arturo genito parente rege
 Henrico, ergo alacres choros frequentet
 Festos; nunc iuvenis simul senexque,
- 75 Et nupta atque agili puella gressu
 Exultet, celeres agens choreas;
 Dulces auribus intonare cantus
 Et quitquid modulis solet canoris,
 Et risus facilis sonet iocusque. f. 85^v
- 80 Non tauri gravibus gemant aratris,
 Non pensis mulier vacato, et omnis
 Luce hac sepositus labor quiescat.
 Vicis muneribus iocisque cunctis
 Discurrant famuli frequentiores;
- 85 Nec corda exhilarans pater Lieus,
 Nec desint epulis sales honesti.
 Sertis tempora floridisque fragris
 Ornate, ac vario decens amictu
 Et plebs et pariter senatus omnis
- 90 Accedat: sacer est dies! Venite
 In votis superis piis vocatis;
 Permixtas Arabum preces odore
 Ferte; et non genito patri natoque
 Laudes reddite flaminique sancto,
- 95 Triplex qui dominus deusque solus
 Regnat perpetuo beatus evo;
 Ac votis humiles rogat cuncti
 Arturo nitidas diesque noctes,
 Felixque ut gemino parente senex, f. 86^r
- 100 Vincens magnanimos avûm triumphos,
 Vivat, iusticie tenaxque recti,
 Optandum populis perhenne nomen.

65-66 *Iusticie ... secum comitem ducens Pudor*: cf. Hor., *Carm.* I 24.6: *Pudor et Iustitiae* [*Iustitia* in some mss.] soror.

80 Cf. Verg., *Buc.* 4.41: iam tauris iuga solvet arator.

V. Pietro Carmeliano: *Suasoria Laeticiae*MS.: London, British Library, Addit. 33736, ff. 2^r - 11^v.

Petri Carmeliani Brixiensis poetae *Suasoria Laeticiae* ad Angliam f. 2^r
 pro sublatis bellis civilibus et Arthuro principe nato epistola

- Anglia, post tantas clades tantasque ruinas
 Et tot cognata praelia facta manu,
 Post odium antiquum geminae de sanguine regum
 Stirpis et innumeras gentis utrimque neces,
 5 Te superûm rector tandem prospexit ab alto,
 Cum facies esset tam miseranda tibi,
 Undique civili cum sanguine terra maderet,
 Inque tuis populis luctus ubique foret,
 Cum genetrix natum, natus fleretque parentem,
 10 Et fratrem frater, nupta pudica virum,
 Filius et patrem, fratrem quandoque necaret
 Frater, et ira furens iret in omne nefas,
 Cumque duces etiam, proceres simul atque iacerent, f. 2^v
 Et foret extinctus nobilitatis honos.
 15 Hic ubi conspexit tot fortia corpora passim
 Strata solo, et passim fervere bella magis,
 Protinus avertit vultus oculosque retorsit.
 Iam fera non patiens facta videre Deus,
 "Sit modus his," dixit, "bellis tantoque furori;
 20 Romanos satis est exuperasse duces!
 Non gener atque socer (quamvis ea bella fuerunt
 Maxima), non Marius, non quoque Sylla ferox
 Hauserunt tantum Romani sanguinis unquam,
 Imperium licet his, vis quoque maior erat."
 25 His dictis, divos caelesti in sede locatos
 Convocat atque sedens talia verba refert:

Oratio Summi Opificis Dei ad Coetum Sanctorum

5 Cf. Verg., *Aen.* V 727: [Iuppiter] caelo tandem miseratus ab alto est.

7 Verg., *Aen.* XII 691: sanguine terra madet.

12 Cf. Lucan., *Phars.* IV 243: itur in omne nefas, and V 272: imus in omne nefas.

26 Cf. Verg., *Aen.* I 94, 208: talia voce refert.

- “Anglia, terrarum regio pulcherrima mundi, f. 3^r
 Terra potens armis atque opulenta, ferax,
 Quae reliquas orbis partes contemnere possit,
 30 Et cui conferri patria nulla potest,
 In partes divisa duas de principe semper
 Certat, et in nullo tempore Marte vacat.
 Sunt geminae suboles regum de sanguine ductae
 Regiaque ex titulis utraque sceptrum petit:
 35 Hanc populi pars una fovet, pars altera at illam;
 Atque favet dominis bellica turba suis.
 Una domum sequitur cui dat Lancastria nomen,
 Cui regnum Brutus principiumque dedit;
 Altera progeniem fovet et tutatur in armis
 40 Eboracensem, fortia bella movens.
 Sic semper gladios inter versatur et enses
 Anglia, terra ferox indomitumque genus;
 Paulatimque suos proceres dominosque trucidat, f. 3^v
 Frondibus et populus densior ipse cadit;
 45 Ac nisi forsitan opem sibi det mea maxima cura,
 Orba viris parvo tempore tellus erit.
 Hos ego non patiar populos occumbere prorsus,
 Ne pereant pariter debita sacra mihi:
 Mens mea longaevam cogitat componere pacem.
 50 Dicite quo melius pax queat esse modo.
 Hec causa est cur vos ad me, sacra turba, vocavi,
 Diceret ut mentem quilibet ordo suam.”

Responsio Sanctorum ad Deum

- Dixerat. Alma cohors sic protinus incipit: “Atqui
 Non opus est nobis, omnipotens genitor;
 55 Singula namque vides per te; tu singula nosti
 Nilque latet numen, praeterit autem tuum.

29 *in marg. iuxta* 29 Laus Anglie

46 *tellus*: last syllable short, as in Martianus Capella V 584, v. 10: *interrivata marmore tellus erat*

53 *Dixerat*: Verg., *Aen.* II 152, and *passim*.

- Si qua tamen tibi cura manet consulere quenquam,
 Nostrum consiliis atque adhibere tuis, f. 4^r
 Henricus poterit Sextus tibi cuncta referre,
 60 Anglica qui quondam regia sceptrata tulit,
 Qui patriam novit, populos, populique furores,
 Continuum geminae dissidiamque domus,
 Qui fuit illarum princeps, deductus ab una,
 Hostili cecidit quique deinde manu.
 65 Is melius poterit quam nos ea bella Britanna
 Quo tolli possint dicere nempe modo.”
 Finierant; placuere Deo sanctissima verba,
 Spectat et Henricum; mox iubet atque loqui.

Oratio divi Henrici Sexti ad Deum

- Ille refert: “O summe paterque hominumque deorum,
 70 Qui caelum et terras et freta vasta regis,
 Postquam me caeli dignatus honore fuisti,
 Gloria mortalis vanaque visa mihi est,
 Contempsisti terras, pariter terrenaque regna, f. 4^v
 Et male gesta mea lubrica sceptrata manu.
 75 At quia pax sancta est, patriaeque imponere pacem
 Est tibi cura meae, tollereque arma paras,
 Vera feram; patriae et generis sanctissima tangit
 Me pietas, grata est et tua cura mihi.
 Ast igitur dicam (quamvis Deus omnia nosti)
 80 Qua queat hic tolli bellicus arte furor.
 Est opus ut geminae prolem iungantur in unam,
 Fiat et ex geminis aedibus una domus.
 Ardua res quondam, facilis sed tempore in isto est;
 Commoditas maior nec fuit ulla prius.
 85 Extinctus Quartus regum fortissimus ille est,
 Qui mihi de manibus abstulit imperium;
 Hic moriens fratri natos commisit utrosque;

69 Cf. Verg., *Aen.* I 65, II 648, X 2, X 743: divum pater atque hominum rex.

70 Cf. Verg., *Aen.* I 229: o qui res hominumque deumque aeternis regis imperiis.

85 *Quartus*: Edward IV.

87 *fratri*: Richard of Gloucester, the future Richard III. *natos*: Edward V and Richard of York.

- Hos male commissos perdidit ille ferox;
 Atque ubi de medio dominos geminosque nepotes f. 5^r
 90 Sustulit, assumpsit non sua regna sibi.
 Is est qui gladio sceleratus in ilia misso
 Me quoque confodit, promptus ad omne nefas;
 Sed mea ne videar recitando damna dolere,
 Quo fueram veniam propositumque sequar.
 95 Nulla ex Eduardo superest iam mascula proles
 Quae populis possit imperitare suis;
 Filia prima manet natu, pulcherrima virgo,
 Nubilis Elisabet, bis duo lustra tenens,
 Que docta et sapiens plus quam sua tempora poscunt;
 100 Fratribus extinctis, ius genitoris habet:
 Hic status unius stirpis de sanguine regum;
 Accipias igitur quis status alterius.
 Dum captum celsa me Quartus in arce teneret
 Et manibus ferret regia sceptris suis,
 105 Expulsus pridem Eduardus meus, unica proles, f. 5^v
 Armatus rediit, iura paterna petens;
 Sed male pugnavit (sibi nam sua fata negabant
 Regna dari): captus, caesus ab hoste fuit;
 Mox ego confossus, suboles ut nostra periret
 110 Prorsus, et extinctum ius genus atque foret.
 Sed tibi cura meum fuit asservare nepotem
 Henricum, Quarti dum fugeret gladios.
 Hic puer existens placidus, Richmundia proles,
 Ad Gallos fugiens turgida vela dedit;
 115 Sed sua cum medium pelagi ratis ipsa secaret,
 Pyratis casu fit nova preda maris,
 Adque ducem fertur — fuerant sic fata — Britannum,

92 Cf. Lucan., *Phars.* VI 147: pronus ad omne nefas.

98 *bis duo lustra tenens*: Elizabeth had been born in 1466.

105 *Eduardus*: Edward Plantagenet, killed at Tewkesbury in 1471.

116 The other early sources of information about Henry's departure into exile in the care of his uncle Jasper Tudor on 2 June 1471, Bernard André and Polydor Vergil, make his landing in Brittany the result of bad weather and chance; Carmeliano's remark suggests the subsequently popular idea that the landing was the doing of a treacherous Breton shipmaster; see Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 17 n. 4.

117 *ducem* ... *Britannum*: Duke Francis II of Burgundy.

- Captivus veniens carceribusque datur:
 Sic tibi tum placuit puerum obiectare periclis,
 120 Casibus et variis exagitare, Pater,
 Fortius ut iuvenis tolerare pericula posset, f. 6^r
 Vinceret et durus fortia cuncta labor.
 Hic heres regni restat de sanguine nostro,
 Magnanimus, praestans, nobilis atque decens,
 125 Integer ac fortis, iustus patiensque laborum,
 Clemens, facundus, munificusque, pius:
 Si tibi, summe pater, cura est imponere pacem
 Anglis, quae nullo sit moritura die,
 Henricum tandem de carcere solve nepotem,
 130 Et iube ut armatus debita iura petat
 Ac patrium repetat regnum, saevumque tyrannum
 Expellat, patriam restituatque suam;
 Eduardi accipiat Quarti pro coniuge natam
 Elisabet, titulum quae genitoris habet.
 135 Sic solus gemino fiet de sanguine sanguis,
 Una domus post haec imperiumque petet.”

Finis Orationis Divi Henrici Sexti et Illius Approbatio f. 6^v

- Finierat Sextus. Placuerunt verba Tonanti,
 Atque ait: “Una mihi mens manet atque tibi;
 Dicta puta quaecumque moves curabimus, inquam.
 140 Ut faciant rebus haec tua dicta fidem,
 Adde quod efficiam sceleratus ut ille tyrannus,
 In te sacrilega qui tulit arma manu,
 Henrico meritas solvat pro crimine poenas,
 Manibus exsolvat inferiasque tuis.”

Executio Divinae Sententiae

- 145 Nec mora: captivus de carcere solvitur heros
 Atque iter ad Gallos Gallicaque arva facit.
 Huc ubi pervenit, comitatus milite parvo,
 In Karoli amplexum principis ille volat,

145 *Nec mora*: Verg., *Aen.* V 368, V 458, XII 553.

145-146 Henry escaped Brittany for France in October 1484.

148 *Karoli*: Charles VIII of France.

- Auxiliumque petit, quo ius proavitaque regna
 150 Vendicet, in patriam naviget atque suam.
 At Karolus, cum sit consanguinitate propinquus
 Gaudeat et tali principe, spondet opem; f. 7^r
 Non minus Henricum gravitas generosaque verba,
 Et virtus, species nobilitasque iuvant.
 155 Interea, procures damnantes facta tyranni
 Henrico cupiunt regia sceptrum dari;
 Henrici gaudent audito nomine multi;
 Atque iter ad Gallos plurima turba capit.
 Ianque patet classis, puppim iam Septimus intrat,
 160 Et dextro primum cum pede carpit iter;
 Ianque viris naves epulisque implentur et armis,
 Ianque Deus misso fulmine signa facit;
 Iam sparsa e summo dependent carbasa malo,
 Iamque Nothus properans candida vela ferit.
 165 Sulcat aquas classis, parvoque in tempore portum
 Intrat, quem Milford incola turba vocat:
 Protinus ecce sonant immensa tonitrua caelo
 Signaque victricis dant manifesta manus. f. 7^v
 Ut videt Henricus portum tetigisse carinas
 170 Et natale solum conspicit ante oculos,
 Vix tenuit lachrymas, patriae correptus amore,
 Et, caput inclinans, "Anglia," dixit, "ave;
 Ad te post longos redeo multosque labores,
 Insons exilium per tria lustra ferens.
 175 Me, precor, alma parens, animo me sume benigno,

166 *in marg. iuxta* 166-167 Portus Milford 171 *in marg. iuxta* 171-174 Oratio
 Serenissimi Henrici Septimi ad natalem patriam in reditu ab exilio

151 *consanguinitate propinquus*: Verg., *Aen.* II 86. Henry and Charles were related through Henry's grandmother, Catherine of Valois.

155-156 Henry's mother, Margaret Beaufort, and Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, were plotting in England on Henry's behalf as early as October 1483; see Chrimes, *Henry VII*, pp. 20-28.

157-158 Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 327, provides a list of some twenty-five of Henry's most prominent companions in exile 1483-1485, and, p. 40, estimates that Henry had three to five hundred English followers by the time he left France.

166 On 7 August 1485.

174 Henry was in exile in Brittany and France between June 1471 and August 1485.

175 *alma parens*: Verg., *Aen.* II 591, II 664, X 252.

- Et faveas titulis saepe vocata meis.
 Sum tua progenies, tuus et generosus alumnus;
 Regia sceptrā peto, debita iure mihi.
 Non te commoveant quae tot portavimus arma;
 180 Insidias nullas nullaue damna time!
 Albus aper tantum gladiis iugulabitur istis,
 Reddat ut invitus quae male sceptrā tenet.”
 His dictis, puppim linquens, terram pede pressit
 Osculaue infigit cum pietate solo. f. 8^r
- 185 Hinc belli socios, procures, atque arma recenset,
 Pro meritis spondens praemia cuique suis.
 Parva mora est: gelidas cursu superaverat Alpes;
 Seque suos reficit potibus atque cibis.
 Fama volans dirum subito ut pervenit ad hostem,
 190 Convocat armatos bellicaue arma parat.
 Arma parat frustra: quis enim se vincere sanctos
 Posse putet bello consiliumve Dei?
 Crimina praeterea tot tot commiserat, ut mens
 Peccati et sceleris conscia victa foret.
- 195 Ast animum simulat, fugiens ne crimina prodat,
 Seque simul tacitus indicet esse reum.
 Obvius ergo parat certamina maxima, quamvis
 Proelia non animus, sed pudor ipse facit.
 Ut brevibus dicam — neque enim mens dicere cuncta est,
- 200 Nec sumpsi ut bellum scriberet istud opus — f. 8^v
 Septimus Henricus postquam pervenit ad hostem
 Atque inimica sibi cernere signa potest,
 Vicinum subito fertur galeatus in hostem
 Et patruī poenas sumit ab hoste sui.

183 *in marg. iuxta*

183 Finis orationis

183 *His dictis*: Verg., *Aen.* IV 54 and passim.

187 Cf. Lucan., *Phars.* I 183: gelidas Caesar cursu superaverat Alpes.

189 *Fama volans*: cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV 173-190.

201 *Septimus Henricus*: Carmeliano's using this title of Henry even during the battle is sanctioned by Henry's having dated the commencement of his reign from the morning of the battle; see Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 50.

- 205 Ianque aper extinctus, sceleratus et ille tyrannus,
 Et iacet in sicca sanguinolentus humo;
 Iam regni procures, populi, iuvenesque senesque
 Exultant; gaudet femina, virque, puer.
 Undique concurrunt gentes, ut cernere possint,
 210 Qui nuper venit, principis ora sui;
 Quotquot conspiciunt, — tanta est praestantia formae —
 “Non hominis,” dicunt, “est, sed imago Dei;”
 Confestimque vocant regem, regemque salutant,
 Nec possunt oculos exsaciare suos:
 215 Non sic spectantes retinebant ora Medusae,
 Si tamen, ut fertur, fabula vera fuit; f. 9^r
 Non rutilis tantum radiis corruscat Apollo,
 Exutus nebulis, sit deus ipse licet.
 Henricum toto despectant sidera caelo,
 220 Gaudet et adventu, sol quoque, luna suo;
 Non pluvias illo quis cernere tempore posset,
 Servabat clarum candida Luna diem.
 Conveniunt procures regni dominique potentes,
 Henricum regem constituuntque suum;
 225 Huncque rogant, Quarti natam pro coniuge ducat,
 Elisabet, titulos colliget atque duos,
 Ut sileant tandem tot tot civilia bella
 Et redeat regno pax opulenta suo.
 Annuit ille piis precibus regnoque petenti,
 230 Praeponens votis publica vota suis,
 Nam potuit soceros quos vellet in orbe parare,
 Dotis et immensum pondus habere simul; f. 9^v
 Sed satis est dives rex, quem sibi subdita regna
 Observant, metuunt, concelebrantque, colunt.
 235 Prospicit oblatam dominam, visamque pererrat
 Luminibus totam, foederaque icta probat:

in marg. iuxta 205 Mors tyranni *in marg. iuxta* 217-8 comparatio *in marg. iuxta*
 223 Parliamentum *in marg. iuxta* 224-226 Declaratur Henricus Septimus rex
 Angliae *in marg. iuxta* 229 Nuptiae fiunt

204 *patrui*: i.e., Henry's paternal uncle Henry VI.

223-226 On 15 September 1485, Henry summoned a Parliament for 7 November 1485, which declared Henry King and then expressed its wish that he should marry Elizabeth of York; see Levine, pp. 35 and 139.

230 In fact, Henry had declared his intention to marry Elizabeth at least as early as December 1483; see Chrimes, *Henry VII*, p. 27.

235-236 Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV 363-364: totumque pererrat/ luminibus.

- Talis erat facies, qualem finxere Dianam
 Venantem vates, dum sua lustra petit;
 Quae Cassandra sibi, vel quae Lucretia, vel quae
 240 Penelope similis, aut Galathea fuit?
 Quamvis ille prius speciem formamque futurae
 Coniugis audierat pictaque mente foret,
 Ante oculos tamen illa suos magis urget amantem
 Vicinoque magis fomite crescit amor.
 245 Nec minus ipsa suum spectans dominumque maritum
 Ardet amore sui regia virgo viri;
 Ambobus pariter sunt vincla iugalia curae,
 Et damnant taciti tempora longa nimis: f. 10^r
 Obstabat tantum sacrae reverentia legis,
 250 Nam fuerat quarto iunctus uterque gradu.
 Romanus princeps, Christi summusque sacerdos,
 Dat veniam; celebrant foedera sancta thori,
 Moxque tumet venter; renovat sua cornua Phoebe
 Atque implet novies: nascitur ecce puer.
 255 Nascitur ecce puer, quo non generosior alter,
 Seu matrem quaeras seu magis ipse patrem;
 Nascitur ecce puer, gemino de sanguine regum,
 Firma salus regni perpetuumque decus.

Exortatio Laeticiae ad Angliam pro Nato Principe
 et Rege ac Regina Nobilissimis

- “Ad te iam redeo, regio celeberrima mundi,
 260 Anglia, terra potens, insula dives opum;
 Deponas faciem tristem longasque querelas,
 Signaque Laeticiae post mala tanta move.
 Nascitur ecce puer, per quem Pax sancta resurgit; f. 10^v
 Civilisque cadit tempus in omne furor.
 265 Arthurus rediit, per saecula tanta sepultus,
 Qui regum mundi prima corona fuit.
 Ille licet corpus terris et membra dedisset,
 Vivebat toto semper in orbe tamen;

in marg. iuxta 237 Comparatio *in marg. iuxta* 250-252 Dispensatio ab Innocentio
 Octavo summo pontifice facta *in marg. iuxta* 254-255 Nativitas principis Arthuri

247 *vincla iugalia cura*: Verg., *Aen.* IV 59.

249-252 Dispensation for the marriage was granted by Papal Legate on 16 January 1486;
 Henry and Elizabeth were married 18 January 1486.

- Arthurum quisquis praedixerat esse secundo
 270 Venturum, vates maximus ille fuit:
 Arthuri nomen terras penetravit in omnes,
 Perpetuum faciunt fortia facta virum.
 Aurea iam redeunt cum principe saecula tanto;
 Quaeque diu latuit, iam dea virgo redit;
 275 Bellica iam tandem rediit cum principe virtus,
 Antiquumque decus, Anglia pulchra, tuum.
 Ut primum Arthurus iuveniles sumpserit annos
 Atque humeris poterit arma tenere suis,
 Sub iuga vicinos hostes multosque remotos
 280 Mittet, et imperium proferet ille suum: f. 11^r
 Gesta patris vincet, proavos superabit et omnes,
 Arthuri et veteris gloria cedet ei.
 Indue purpureas pro nato principe vestes,
 Anglia; cesset opus; sit tibi festa dies;
 285 Thura Deo et laudes pro tanto munere redde,
 Cantibus et variis debita sacra face.
 'Salve festa dies' dicas, qua pristina regni
 Gloria paxque redit, cessat et omne nefas.
 Salve, festa dies, per quam civilia bella
 290 Tolluntur, concors totaque terra manet.
 Anglia, sume iocos, placidasque resume choreas;
 Summe dapes largas, dulcia vina bibe;
 In triviis pueri saltantes carmina cantent,
 Et feriant tenera tergora dura manu.
 295 Femina virque, senex, iuvenis, puer atque puella
 Adsit natalem concelebretque diem. f. 11^v
 Sed longo nimium ne te sermone fatigem,
 Anglia, cognoscas maxima dona Dei:
 Rex, Regina, puer uno tibi contigit anno,
 300 Quos quicunque videt dixerit esse deos.
 Funde preces igitur Christo dominoque potenti:
 Principibus donet saecula longa tuis.
 Sic quoque tu vives felix, ducesque triumphos,
 Vivet et aeternum fama decusque tuum."

Finis

in marg. iuxta 297 conclusio operis

274 Cf. Verg., *Buc.* 4.6: iam redit et Virgo.

300 Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV 12: credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum.

Didier MARCOTTE*

LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE JEAN CALPHURNIUS**

En 1442, six ans après l'installation en ses murs des Chanoines du Latran, le monastère de San Giovanni di Verdara, à Padoue, s'enrichissait des manuscrits de Girolamo Santasofia, un médecin de la ville. C'était la première étape de la formation d'une bibliothèque qui devait recevoir, entre 1455 et 1503, les livres de Battista del Legname, de Giovanni Marcanova, de Pietro da Montagnana et de Giovanni Planza de Ruffinoni, dit Jean Calphurnius¹.

Au cours du XVI^e siècle, la bibliothèque de S. Giovanni connaît, pour des raisons mal expliquées, un déclin irréversible. Celui-ci devait s'accroître au siècle suivant, pour aboutir, en 1782-83, à l'incorporation à la Marcienne des 587 manuscrits restants², dont on a une liste approximative dans le Marc.ital. XI.323 (7107), rédigé en 1760 et contenant un *Index librorum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Viridarianae Canoniorum regularium Latèranensium*³.

On a retrouvé les noms de quelques-uns des collectionneurs privés à qui profita l'impéritie des chanoines: Marquard Gude († 1689) ramena de Padoue les Gud.gr.25-27⁴ et peut-être aussi le manuscrit de Copen-

* Aspirant du F.N.R.S.

** Pour les abréviations et les titres cités par le seul nom de l'auteur, voir la bibliographie à la fin de l'article.

¹ Sur la formation de la bibliothèque de S. Giovanni, voir P. Sambin, "La formazione quattrocentesca della biblioteca di S. Giovanni di Verdara in Padova", *Atti dell'Ist. veneto di scienze, lett.ed arti.Cl.di sc.mor. e lett.*, 114 (1955-56), p.263-280. Pour une synthèse bibliographique, voir D. Marcotte, "De Lorenzo da Camerino à Henry Scrimger. Histoire d'un manuscrit Palatin", *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 55-56 (1985-86), 57-73.

² Valentinelli, I, p.87-89; [A. Barzon], "La biblioteca dei canonici regolari di S. Agostino nel monasterio di S. Giovanni di Verdara in Padova", dans *Miscellanea G. Bellini* (Padoue, 1959), p.107-110.

³ Voir Mioni, I 1, p.XXIX; M. Formentin, *I codici greci di medicina nelle tre Venezie* (Padoue, 1978), p.18-19.

⁴ Koehler, p. 23-26. Cf. *infra* p.197 ad Inv. I.54.

hague GKS 418, 2°⁵; Thomas Coke, de son côté, acquit en 1717 un grand nombre de volumes pour sa bibliothèque de Holkham Hall⁶.

La dispersion par l'Europe des fonds de S. Giovanni était déjà largement amorcée quand Iacopo Philipo Tomasini sortit à Udine, en 1639, son inventaire des *Bibliothecae Patavinae manuscriptae publicae et privatae*⁷. Ce catalogue, s'il ne répertorie plus qu'une partie des richesses primitives de la bibliothèque du monastère, n'en est pas moins, pour la reconstitution de cette dernière, un instrument de premier ordre. Un essai de reconstitution a été effectué par deux fois pour le fonds de Marcanova⁸ et projeté par P. Sambin pour celui de P. da Montagnana⁹; j'en tenterai un autre pour celui de Calphurnius, à qui Tomasini n'attribuait plus explicitement que six volumes.

Né à Brescia ou à Bordogna vers 1443, Calphurnius a déjà achevé sa carrière d'éditeur quand il prend à R. Regio sa chaire de rhétorique latine au Studio de Padoue, en 1486¹⁰. Ses éditions de poètes latins l'ont rendu fameux¹¹, mais il a participé également à la publication du *De ingenuis moribus ac liberalibus studiis* de P.P. Vergerius¹² et assuré celle de la traduction des *Problemata* de Plutarque par J. Petrus Lucensis¹³.

⁵ Schartau - Smith, p.333-334.

⁶ Förster, p.160-161; De Ricci, p.IX-X; R. Barbour, "Greek Manuscripts from Holkham", *The Bodleian Library Record*, 5 (1954), p.62. Cf. *infra* p.207 ad Inv.II.165.

⁷ Tomasini, p.11-40: mss. de S. Giovanni di Verdara.

⁸ L. Dorez, "La bibliothèque de Giovanni Marcanova", dans *Mélanges G.B. De Rossi* (Rome, 1892), p.113-126; L. Sighinolfi, "La biblioteca di Giovanni Marcanova", dans *Collectanea L.S. Olschki* (Munich, 1921), p.187-222.

⁹ P. Sambin, *art.cit.* (n.1), p.271 et 280, n.67.

¹⁰ Voir G. Chiappani, "Storia di una scuola di grammatica dal Medio Evo fino al Seicento (Bassano)", *Nuovo archivio veneto*, N.S., 29 (1915), I, p.97-98. Raffaele Regio enseignait à Padoue depuis 1482 quand il s'est fait supplanter par Calphurnius. En 1490, il publie à Venise une diatribe sur Quintilien (H.*13810 Ind.8315), où il s'en prend à son adversaire, qui semble, pour sa part, n'avoir rien écrit sur le rhéteur latin. Regio reprendra sa chaire à la mort de Calphurnius, en 1503. Sur la polémique des deux humanistes, voir Perosa, *Quint.*, p.604-607.

¹¹ Édition d'Ovide (Venise, 1474: H.12138 Ind.7043), de Térence avec le commentaire de Donat et celui de Calphurnius sur l'*Heautontimoroumenos* (Venise, 1476: H.15407 Ind.9427), de Virgile avec le commentaire de Servius (Vicence, 1479: BMC VII.1031), de Catulle, Tibulle, Propertius et des *Silves* de Stace (Vicence, 1481: H.*4760 Ind.2615). Sur ces éditions, voir Flodr, p.358-359; sur celle de Catulle en particulier, voir A. Albertini, "Calphurnio Bresciano e la sua edizione di Catullo", *Comment. dell' Ateneo di Brescia per l'anno 1953* (Brescia, 1954), p.29-79; M. Zicari, "Calphurnio editore di Catullo", *Atene e Roma*, N.S., 2 (1957), p. 157-159; B. Richardson, "Pucci, Parrasio and Catullus", *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 19 (1976), p.277-289 (p.278-280).

¹² Padoue, ca. 1475: H.*15982 BMC VII.914 Ind.10153.

¹³ [Venise], 1477: H.*13137 BMC V.263 Ind.7918. On trouve également une pièce élégiaque de Calphurnius dédiée à A. Pasqualino dans l'édition vénitienne des *Elegantiae* de

Lui-même a donné une version du *De liberis educandis* de Plutarque, à la suite des *Praecepta ad Demonicum* d'Isocrate traduits par Nicolaus Luscus¹⁴. Lié avec A. Moreto, Calphurnius lui a dédié l'édition des commentaires de D. Calderini à Martial et Juvénal¹⁵ et celle des *Rudimenta grammatices* de Niccolò Perotti¹⁶. Le seul morceau strictement littéraire qu'on lui doive est une *Mors et apotheosis Simonis infantis novi martyris*, qu'il a publiée à Trente, vers 1481, avec quelques vers élégiaques de sa composition et deux *carmina* de Zovenzoni¹⁷.

Son activité au Studio nous est connue par trois témoignages de première main. Celui des *Diarii* de Marino Sanuto établit que Calphurnius enseignait toujours la rhétorique latine en 1500¹⁸. La préface d'Alde Manuce à son édition d'Hérodote, en 1502, évoque des leçons données sur les *Lettres* de Cicéron à Atticus et sur le texte grec de Pausanias — nous y reviendrons. On a enfin des notes de cours prises par le padouan Gasparo Dondi de Orologio, qui déclare avoir écouté les lectures de Calphurnius sur Tite-Live et des *Orationes* de Cicéron¹⁹.

Frappé au début de l'année 1503 d'une paralysie qui s'annonce fatale, Calphurnius ne peut procéder à l'inventaire des 233 volumes de sa bibliothèque, qu'il s'était proposé de léguer à S. Giovanni. Le 17 janvier, informé par un certain Benedetto de' Caravaggi de l'agonie de Calphurnius, le Podestat de Padoue charge son *vicarius*, Giovanni de' Machiavelli de Vicence, de pourvoir à ce recensement des biens du mourant qui devait prévenir leur dilapidation.

Le catalogue est rédigé en deux temps. Le 18 janvier, le jour même de

L. Valla (1476: H.*15806 Ind.10085) et une lettre du même à Marcus Aurelius à la suite de la traduction des *Problemata* d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise et d'Aristote par G. Valla et Th. Gaza (Venise, 1488: H.*658 Ind.284). Cf. *infra* Inv.II.107.

¹⁴ Sans date ni lieu d'édition: H.*9318.

¹⁵ Venise, 1474 (H.4237 BMC V.213 Ind.2357) et ca.1476-77 (H.*4238 BMC VII.1148 Ind.2354).

¹⁶ Venise, 1475: H.12648 Ind.7437. Sur les éditions de Calderini et de Perotti, voir B. Ziliotto, *Raffaele Zovenzoni. La vita, i carmi* (Trieste, 1950), p.46; Perosa, *Quint.*, p.608-609.

¹⁷ H.4268 BMC III.806 Ind.2375. La *Mors et apotheosis* a été reprise à la fin de l'édition vicentine de Catulle (1481; cf. *supra* n.11). Sur cette œuvre, voir Ziliotto, *op.cit.* (n.16), p.169, n.250-251; Perosa, *Quint.*, p.605, n.55; L. Gargan, "Un umanista ritrovato: Galeazzo Facino e la sua biblioteca", *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 26 (1983), p.297, n°168 (*Liber Calphurnii legatus cum fundelo rubeo*).

¹⁸ M. Sanuto, *I Diarii*, t.III (publié par R. Fulin, Venise, 1880), col.655 (*Rotulus dominorum artistarum anni praesentis 1500*).

¹⁹ Marc.lat. XII.179 (4026), fol.23-98^r. Voir Zorzanello, II, p.342.

la mort de l'humaniste, on dresse une première liste de 64 volumes (= Inv.I), dont 34 manuscrits et 19 imprimés entièrement en grec, deux lexiques grec-latin imprimés (Inv.I.26; 36), un manuscrit contenant un psautier dans les deux langues (Inv.I.16) et la grammaire grecque, exposée en latin, de Frère Urbain (Inv.I.40). Le reste est inventorié le vendredi 20: 168 titres (= Inv.II), soit 24 mss. latins et 4 grecs, 137 éditions en latin, deux en grec et un vocabulaire grec-latin imprimé. Les dispositions prises par le Podestat et l'inventaire proprement dit ont été consignés dans un acte notarié de l'*Archivio di Stato* de Padoue²⁰. Vittorio Cian en a donné en 1910 une édition sommaire et assez peu fidèle, à l'occasion de laquelle il ne suggérait aucune identification. Je propose dans les pages qui suivent une nouvelle lecture des passages qui intéressent mon propos²¹.

Couverts d'une écriture ample, mais négligée, très cursive et sans grande constance, les dix folios de l'acte sont d'un décryptage malaisé, d'autant que l'encre en est fréquemment pâle. L'orthographe est déficiente, sinon fantaisiste; certains noms s'en trouvent irrémédiablement déformés. La structure même du double inventaire, dans lequel chaque volume fait l'objet d'une brève description (titre approximatif de l'œuvre et/ou nom de l'auteur; langue du texte manuscrit ou imprimé; accessoirement âge et format du volume, son type de reliure, la couleur de celle-ci), ne laisse pas d'être confuse.

Une note après le 57^e titre précise que la série qu'elle clôt est constituée de livres grecs. La seconde liste ne reprend, en revanche, que des œuvres en latin, sauf mention contraire²²; le *Strabo impressus* (*sic*) en Inv.II.2 est donc un Strabon traduit. Dans l'une et l'autre liste, les imprimés se mêlent aux manuscrits; ceux-là sont seuls définis expressément comme tels (*impressus* ou *ad stampam*)²³. La formulation des

²⁰ Padoue, Archivio di Stato. Archivio Notarile, Abbrev. di Ambrogio da Ruina, VIII, fol.431-440.

²¹ Sur les principes de cette édition, cf. *infra* p.190. Mon texte s'écarte radicalement de celui de Cian aux passages suivants: Inv.I.3 (*Pauxanie: Peruxina* C.); 8 (*Pedacii: Pediani* C.); 21 (*Livani: Linarii* C.); 29 (*opuscula: epistule* C.); 35 (*Policidis: Polucis* C.); 40 (*fratris Urbani: fronesis nebarii* C.); II. 17 (*vocum M. Catonis: rerum M. Antoni* C.); 85 (*Datus: datus* C.); 105; 108 et 114 (*Quintiliani: Gentilini* C.); 154 (*Tulii: Iulii* C.); 162 (*parimion: lac. ind.* C.); 165 (*Putarchi: Secundi* C.); *ad Diem XXVIII mensis Ianuarii*. Pour le reste, je n'ai pas signalé les lectures de Cian.

²² Le *Theodorus Grecus* cité en Inv.II.40 et 46 est toutefois un auteur latin; Grecus est un autre nom pour Gaza.

²³ Voir cependant le commentaire à Inv.I.4.

item, si elle respecte en général le lexique philologique des humanistes²⁴, peut être contournée, voire imprécise: ainsi, c'est la traduction latine de Polybe par N. Perotti qui est visée en Inv.II.16 par les mots *Perotus in Polibii istoriarum libros*, quand le *Gayetanus in libros phisicarum* en Inv.II.74 désigne normalement le commentaire de Gaëtan de Thiene à la *Physique* d'Aristote.

Deux notes ont été ajoutées à l'inventaire, les 24 et 28 janvier 1503, où il est fait part des réclamations de collectionneurs qui avaient prêté des manuscrits grecs à Calphurnius — j'en donne une édition commentée plus bas²⁵; elles montrent l'intérêt que l'emprunteur portait à la philologie grecque²⁶, autant qu'elles nous éclairent sur le destin des trois volumes qui en font l'objet: un Démosthène, un Lycophron et une *Odyssée*. Celle-ci, prêtée par un certain Brenta, ne figure pas dans l'inventaire: l'humaniste aura dû s'en défaire avant sa paralysie.

Un autre livre fait semblablement défaut dans notre catalogue; il s'agit du ms. de base de l'édition aldine des *Lettres* de Cicéron à Atticus. Dans sa préface à l'*editio princeps* d'Hérodote (septembre 1502), Alde justifie ainsi la dédicace qu'il en fait à Calphurnius²⁷:

cum a te M. Tullii epistolas ad Atticum, Pausaniamque graecum, quos accurate et summo iudicio castigatos enarras auditoribus, petissem — receperisti enim tum eos tum caeteros libros tuos daturum te mihi, cum velim, non invitum ut publicentur etc.

Sans doute Alde n'a-t-il pas restitué à temps ces *Lettres* à leur propriétaire, à moins que l'œuvre n'ait figuré dans le ms. des *Opera omnia preter oraciones* repris en Inv.I.64. En revanche, le Pausanias grec avait bien regagné la bibliothèque de Calphurnius, puisqu'on le trouve en Inv.I.3, où Cian lisait *Peruxina* au lieu de *Pauxanie*.

On ne peut tracer que partiellement le destin des autres volumes. Tomasini reprenait six titres qu'il disait expressément avoir été donnés par Calphurnius. Cinq d'entre eux peuvent être identifiés: Inv.I.20; 34; II.12; 51; 85²⁸; on cherche en vain le sixième dans l'inventaire: un

²⁴ Voir, sur cette question lexicologique, S. Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti* (Rome, 1973).

²⁵ Voir p.208-9 et mon article déjà cité n.1.

²⁶ On a toujours, cependant, dénié à Calphurnius toute compétence en matière grecque; voir Franceschini - Pertusi, p.328.

²⁷ Voir Renouard, p.35-36. La dédicace a été rééditée par Orlandi, I, p.64-65, et traduite par A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'hellénisme à Venise* (Paris, 1875), p.217-218. Cf. *infra* ad Inv.I.3.

²⁸ Je n'ai pu retrouver le dernier de ces mss., que Cian (p.228) ne parvenait pas à

Commentarium in Rhetoricam Aristotelis sur parchemin in-4^o²⁹, que seule peut-être l'imprécision de notre document ne permet pas de retrouver. Inversement, le même Tomasini répertorie, sans les attribuer à Calphurnius, cinq manuscrits que celui-ci avait pourtant possédés (Inv.I.19; 47; 54; II.154; 165), et un autre qu'il faut sans doute identifier avec Inv.I.6. Les deux premiers et le quatrième devaient passer à la Marcienne en 1782-83; le troisième et le dernier ont été acquis par M. Gude³⁰, le cinquième par Th. Coke.

Des huit mss. de la Marcienne qu'on peut avec certitude reconnaître dans l'inventaire (Inv.I.19; 20; 34; 47; 55; II.12; 51; 154)³¹, seul le cinquième semble avoir été ignoré de Tomasini — celui-ci ne reprend pas, très naturellement, l'incunable de Venise décrit en Inv.I.62. Ces manuscrits, avec celui de Coke, le Gudianus enregistré en Inv.I.54 et un Leidensis désigné en Inv.I.35, permettent de distinguer six types dans les *notae donationis* dont devaient être pourvus la plupart des volumes cédés par Calphurnius à S. Giovanni:

- type 1 Io. Calphurnius oratoriam artem grece latineque Patavii gloriose docens librum hunc can^{ctis} reg.s.Io. in viridario devotus legavit, ut inde proficiens lector sis gratus. MCCCCCIII.
- type 2 Io. Calphurnius orator consummatissimus, in utraque lingua aequè doctissimus, librum hunc reliquit can^{ctis} reg.s.Io. in viridario. Inde lector si profeceris ipsius animae faveto.
- type 3 Io. Calphurnius vir eloquentissimorum eloquentissimus, litteratorum litteratissimus, libellum hunc can^{ctis} reg.divi Io. de viridario deditissimus dicavit. Lector precare.
- type 4 Hunc Calphurnius Io. gravem libellum, / Grecis gloria quin decus Latinis, / nobis can^{ctis} pius sacravit. / Qui lector cineri libens precare.

reconnaître dans l'inventaire, parce qu'il faisait porter le *donum Calphurnij* de Tomasini (*Bibliothecae Patavinae*, p.27) sur le seul *De Syllabarum quantitate* dont parle ce dernier (*cf. infra ad* Inv.II.85), et qu'il faisait un participe du *Datus* cité dans notre document (*cf. supra* n.21).

²⁹ Tomasini, p.27, A, XXVII, 1.13-14.

³⁰ D. Harlfinger (dans *Ausst. Wolf.*, p.80, n°27) ne sait s'il faut attribuer à la bibliothèque de Calphurnius le Gudianus gr.71 (inv.4258; Koehler, p.44), contenant les *Fables* d'Ésope suivant la *collectio Accursiana* III γ Γ (avec légères variantes). Le ms. ne figure cependant pas dans l'inventaire, et les *Aesopi fabulae* que Tomasini (p.22, A, XVIII, 1.19) répertorie sans les compter dans le legs Calphurnius ouvraient un ms. qui renfermait plus largement, selon la description de Tomasini, des *Apophtegmata quaedam variorum cum scholiis*.

³¹ E. Mioni (*Codices graeci manuscripti bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum*, I 1, p.XXIX; III, p.43; 49; 100-101) considère que les Marc.gr.X.4 (1250), X.14 (1231) et XI.16 (1234) ont dû appartenir à Calphurnius, et propose de les retrouver respectivement en Inv.I.24 (parch.), 20 et 43 (parch.). Le premier et le troisième des Marciani cités sont cependant en papier, et Inv.I.20 est à identifier avec le Marc.gr.X.9 (1271).

- type 5 Can^{sis} reg. divi Augustini, Christi legitime sectatoribus, — taceam? an loquar?, — mortalium vitae formatoribus, Calphurnius velatus tempora lauro, tibi, Quintiliane, non impar, libellum istum graecum (latinum) pro anima nec non in monumenta amoris reliquit.
- type 6 *nota donationis* lacuneuse du Leidensis BPG 74 F; voir Inv.I.35.

*
* * *

INVENTAIRE DES LIVRES LAISSÉS PAR J. CALPHURNIUS

Archivio Notarile di Padova. Abbrev. di Ambrogio da Ruina (1499-1503), VIII, fol. 432^v-439

Principes de la présente édition³²

1. Présentation du texte

On donne une édition des seules parties de l'acte notarié qui intéressent la reconstitution de la bibliothèque. L'orthographe (ex. *Inv.I.10: cloceo*), la morphologie (ex. *Inv. I 8: rubea*) et la syntaxe n'ont pas été corrigées; on a cependant fait figurer entre crochets brisés les lettres ou mots manifestement oubliés par le copiste et nécessaires à la compréhension du texte. Les ratures sont signalées entre doubles crochets droits, les lettres illisibles par autant de points.

Les abréviations de l'original sont toujours résolues, sauf dans quelques cas de suspension: *sp.* (*spectabilis*); *d.* (*dominus*); *s.* (*sanc-tus*); *Io.* (*Iohannes*); etc. L'abréviation de finale *ꝰ* a été résolue en *-um* ou *-us*, sans préjuger de ce que le copiste a voulu écrire. Deux cas ont à cet égard servi de modèles: en *Inv.I.21*, *opera Livani sophiste grecus vetus scriptus*, et en *Inv.I.30*, *Tabula impressum* (avec le seul *-m* final abrégé). Il a fallu déroger à cet "usage" par trois fois: en *Inv.II.30* (*alter*) et 139 (*scripte veteres cum cohoptura vetere*). En *Inv.II.137*, enfin, on ne pouvait lire que *interpetracio*.

Les noms propres ont été systématiquement pourvus d'une majuscule; ailleurs, les majuscules reproduisent celles de l'original.

³² Je remercie le Directeur de l'*Archivio di Stato* de Padoue, la Dott.ssa R. Baggio Collavo, de m'avoir permis, le 17 mai 1986, de publier ce document.

2. Indications *extra textum* en italique:

- renvois à la foliotation du manuscrit;
- numérotation des *item* par inventaire: Inv.I, 64 titres; Inv.II, 168 titres, mais 169 volumes (*cf.* II.23). Pour chaque nouvel *item*, le copiste est allé à la ligne.

3. Notices explicatives

A la suite de chaque *item*, une note établit ou suggère une identification. A côté de renvois internes, elle peut comporter

- (1) pour les volumes qu'on a pu retrouver, les rubriques suivantes:
 - Lieu de conservation, cote et description du ms. ou de l'incunable
 - Cop.: nom du copiste, s'il est connu
 - Cont.: contenu du volume
 - Poss.: possesseurs du volume; éléments permettant de l'attribuer au fonds Calphurnius (notes autographes; *notae donationis*: voir la nomenclature p. 189-90)
 - Cat.: références aux catalogues de bibliothèques ou d'expositions, aux répertoires de mss. d'auteurs
 - Bibl.: bibliographie relative à l'histoire du volume
 - Repr.: éventuellement, références aux reproductions imprimées
 - Rem.: remarques
- (2) pour les imprimés, si l'exemplaire de Calphurnius n'a pas été retrouvé:
 - (a) une référence au *Repertorium bibliographicum* de Hain (= H.) et/ou à d'autres catalogues généraux d'incunables (BMC; GW; Ind.: voir la bibliographie à la fin de l'article), selon les principes suivants:
 - H.000: seule édition possible
 - pr. H.000: quand le titre du volume, déterminé par celui de l'œuvre sur laquelle il s'ouvre, est identifié, référence à sa seule première édition, s'il en a connu d'autres. La référence ne désigne donc pas nécessairement l'*editio princeps* d'une œuvre, mais sa première édition en tête d'un volume
 - H.000-: en cas d'ambiguïté dans la formulation de l'*item*, renvoi à la série des différents titres envisageables.

- (b) une référence à d'autres catalogues, si l'*editio princeps* n'est pas incunable.

Les mss. qu'il n'a pas été possible de retrouver et les éditions qu'on n'a pu reconnaître n'ont fait, quand la lecture du document est certaine, l'objet d'aucune remarque.

fol.432^r, l.5

Die XVIII mensis Ianuarii

- Sp. d. vicarius intellecta morte ultrascripti d. Chalfurni | de mandato magnifici d. potestatis ut ultra se contulit ad eius | domum habitacionis ipsius causa complendi inventarium | predictum et ingressus cameram in qua dormire | solebat preffattus d. Chalfurnus reperit infrascriptos | libros videlicet |
1. Primo opus Luciani ad stampam cum cohopenitura rubea
H.*10258 BMC VI.667 Ind.5834.
 2. Item opus Theodori Gaza cum Apolonio impressum cum | cohopenitura viridi
H.*500 BMC V.553 Ind.4181.
 3. Item opus Pauxanie scriptum manu sive calamo cum | cohopenitura viridi
Il s'agit du manuscrit de base, jusqu'ici inconnu, de l'édition aldine de Pausanias (juillet 1516; Renouard, p.76), qu'Alde l'Ancien avait annoncée en 1497 (préface au *Dictionnarium graecum copiosissimum*, rééditée par Orlandi, I, p.20: *et expectate magnum etymologicum, Sudam, Pollucem, Pausaniam, Stephanum*), et mise en chantier dès avant 1502, comme nous en avertit sa préface à l'*editio princeps* d'Hérodote en grec (sept.1502; Renouard, p.35-36), dédiée à Calphurnius lui-même; cf. *supra* p.188 et *infra* Inv.I.11. Le ms. est peut-être une copie du Riccardianus gr.29 (XV^e s.), qu'A. Diller, "The Manuscripts of Pausanias", *TAPA*, 88 (1957), p.181 (*Studies*, p.175), tient pour le ms. de base. Sur les raisons qu'il y a de rejeter cette opinion, voir M. v. Sicherl, dans *Ausst. Wolf.*, p.147, n°58. Voir aussi Inv.II.19; 52.
 4. Item opus tercii voluminis operum Aristotelis grecum | cum cohopenitura rubea
Il faut suppléer <*impressum*> ou <*ad stampam*>. Le troisième volume de l'*editio princeps* d'Aristote en grec (qui en compte cinq) est sorti des presses d'Alde en 1497 (Renouard, p.11).
Sur l'édition d'ensemble: H.*1657 GW 2334 BMC V.553; 555-6; 558 Ind. 791. Cf. *infra* Inv.I.5; 15.
 5. Item ultimum volumen suprascripti Aristotelis ad stampam | cum cohopenitura fundelo nigro
Volumen quintum et ultimum de l'édition aldine (1498); Renouard, p. 16. Cf. *supra* Inv.I.4 et *infra* I.15. Sur le sens du terme *fundelus* (dos de reliure), voir Rizzo, p.66, n.1.
 6. Item opus Philostrati cum calamo scriptum cum cohopenitura | rubea

Sans doute les Gud. gr. 25 fol. (inv.4212) (= A) pap. XV^es. cm 22 × 28,5
[I].171 fol. (+ fol.10^a, 126^a, 155^v)

et Gud. gr. 26 fol. (inv.4213) (= B) pap. XV^es. cm 21,25 × 28,25 32 fol.

Cont.: (A) (1) PHILOSTRATE, *V.Soph.* (fol.1-50^v); *Her.* (fol.50^v-84; fol.85 bl.);

(2) *Imag.* (fol.86-152); fragm. (fol.152^v-154; fol.155 bl.); [M. PLANUDE], *Expositiones in Philostrati Imagines* (fol.156-169); fol. 170-171 bl.

(B) THÉOPHRASTE, *Car.*, 16-23 (fol.1-3; fol.4 bl.); 1-15 (fol.5-11); ANON., Προβλήματα ρητορικά εις τὰς στάσεις (fol.11^v-14); M. PLANUDE, *Carmen ad Theoctistum* (fol.14^v-15); ARISTOTE, *Poet.* (fol.15^v-30); ANON., Περὶ σχημάτων ὧν Ἑρμογένης ἐμνημόνευσεν (fol.30^v-32)

Poss.: (A) fol.169^v: note de donation à M. Gude. Cf. *supra* p.184

Cat.: Tomasini, p.21, A-B, XVII; Koehler, p.23-25

Rem.: B est de la même main que A(1). La notice de Tomasini, qui présente les œuvres dans l'ordre suivant: A(1) - B - A(2), confirme que les deux mss. ne formaient qu'un seul à l'origine.

7. Item Dionisius de Licharnasei scriptus calamo cum cohopenura | rubea

8. Item opus Iulii Pedacii cum fundelo rubea ad stampam

Sans doute Pedanius Dioscorides, appelé Pedacius à la Renaissance; titre de l'édition aldine de 1499 (H.*6257 GW 8435 BMC V.560 Ind.3491 Renouard, p.21): Πεδακίου Διοσκορίδου Ἀναζαρβέως περὶ ὕλης. Iulii pourrait résulter d'une mauvaise intelligence de (περὶ) ὕλης.

Item quedam orationes Demostenis cum cohopenura rubea | vetus scriptum calamo

fol.433^v

10. Item opus Stefani scriptum calamo cum fundelo cloceo

En 1491, dans son voyage vers la Grèce, au cours duquel il devait acquérir des mss. pour Laurent de Médicis (Knös, p.38), et dont il a laissé une relation dans le Vat. gr.1412 (éd. Müller, p.379-407; voir aussi de Nollac, p.155), J. Lascaris trouvait à Padoue, dans la bibliothèque de C., l'épitomé des Ἑθνικά d'Étienne de Byzance: ἐν τοῖς Καλπουρνίου | Στεφάνου τοπικῶν κατὰ στοιχεῖον (Vat., fol.55^r, 1.4-5; cf. Müller, p.389). Un an plus tard, à Venise, J. Rhosos achevait de ce ms. une copie pour le compte de Laurent: le Laur.Plut. IV.3, fol.23-308 (Bandini, I, p.519). Entre 1492 et l'*ed.pr.* (Venise, 1502; Renouard, p.38-39), 17 autres copies ont été faites, répertoriées par A. Diller, "The Tradition of Stephanus Byzantinus", *TAPA*, 69 (1938), p.333-348 (*Studies*, p.183-198). Le ms. de C., qui reste à retrouver, présentait déjà la lacune *post* Κελαίθρα (p.372,1.8-9 Meineke)- Κόρακος (p.372,1.15 M.); cf. J. Rhosos, *l.l.*, fol.163^v: οὕτως εἶρον καὶ εἰς πρωτότυπον καθὼς λείπει ὧδε.

11. Item Erodothus Alicarnaseus ad stampam cum fundelo rubeo

Renouard, p.35-36. Cf. *supra* ad Inv.I.3.

12. Item opus Tucididis scriptum calamo vetus cum cohopenura | [ras.] nigra

13. Item opus Dionysii [cum verb] de verbis indeclinabilibus cum | cohopen-
tura viridi
14. Item de silva medecinali opus grecum sine titulo | cum cohopen-
tura rubea et scriptum calamo
15. Item Organum sive Logicha Aristotilis greca inpressum | cum cohopen-
tura rubea
Premier volume de l'édition aldine d'Aristote (1495; Renouard, p.7-9). Cf.
supra Inv.I.4-5.
16. Item Psalmita vetus in carta membrana scriptus | calamo grecus et latinus
cum [coho] fundelo | albo
17. Item Simplicius grecus super predicamentis Aristotilis | inpressus cum
fundelo nigro
H.*14757 BMC V.580 Ind.9016.
18. Item orationes Isochratis in carta membrana vetus scriptum | calamo cum
cohopen-
tura viridi
19. Item Liber posteriorum Aristotilis grecu[m]s scriptus pena | cum fundelo
croceo
Marc.gr. IV.51 (1118) pap. XV^s. cm 20,4 × 28,3 66 fol.
Cont.: ARISTOTE, *Analytica posteriora*
Poss.: fol.1^r sup.: épigramme autographe de C. à Laurent Zane, patriarche
d'Antioche; fol.1^r inf.: *nota donationis* type 1
Cat.: Tomasini, p.20,B,XVI; Marc.ital. XI.323, n°384; Mioni, *Arist.cod.*,
p.146; Id., dans *Mostra*, p.11, n°11; Wartelle, p.161, n°2162;
Mioni, I 2, p.242
Repr.: fol.1^r chez Franceschini-Pertusi, pl.IV.
20. Item quidam liber gramatichalis vetus cum calamo scriptus | grecus cum
cohopen-
tura azura
Marc.gr. X.9 (1271) pap. XV^s. cm 14,5 × 22 142 fol. (+ fol.108^a)
Cop.: Nicolao Phagianni (c. 1426)
Cont.: *Erotemata grammatices* (fol.1-42); CATON, *Disticha moralia* selon
la version grecque de M. Planude (fol.43-59); ANON., *Grammatica*
(fol.60-123^r); *Sententiae et varia gnomica* (fol.123^v-131^r); LIBA-
NIOS, 4 *Lettres* (fol.131^v-136); Th. PRODROMOS, Σχέδη μύος
(fol.136^v-139)
Poss.: fol.142^v: *nota donationis* type 1 (var.: MCCCCC 3)
Cat.: peut-être repris par Tomasini, p.29,B,XVII (*Catonis disticha mora-*
*lia è versione Maximi Planudis cum notis grecis in-4. Donum I.C.*³³);
Mioni, III, p.45-46
Rem.: l'adjectif *vetus* ne doit pas faire difficulté pour l'identification. Au
début du XVI^e s., les humanistes qualifiaient parfois de la sorte des

³³ Le volume décrit par Tomasini est identifié par S. Bernardinello avec un ms. du
Museo Civico de Padoue, C.M. 396 (Kristeller, II, p.20), contenant les *Disticha moralia* dits
de Caton et les *Erotemata parva* de Chrysoloras. Je n'ai rien trouvé dans ce ms. qui
permette de l'attribuer au fonds de S. Giovanni. Voir S. Bernardinello, "Gli studi
propedeutici di greco del grammatico padovano Pietro da Montagnana", *Quaderni per la
storia dell'Università di Padova*, 9-10 (1976-77), p.113.

mss. vieux de moins de cent ans. Voir de Nolhac, p.119; Rizzo, p.166-167.

21. Item opera Liviani sophiste [ras.] grecus vetus scriptus | calamo cum cohopenura rubea
Il faut comprendre *Libanii*.
 22. Item Mechomdius impressus cum fundelo rubeo
Mechomdius *vel* Methomdius? Peut-être s'agit-il des *Homiliae* de Méthode en édition bilingue, Anvers, 1498: C. + 4012.
 23. Item istoria Adriani grece scriptum calamo cum cohopenura | rubea
 24. Item Manuelis schedule in carta membrana vetus | scriptum calamo cum cohopenura rubea
Sur la signification relative de *vetus*, cf. *supra ad* Inv.I.20.
 25. Item epistule [v] Bruti Romani in greco cum quibusdam aliis | in carta membrana scriptum calamo cum cohopenura | viridi
- f.433'*
26. Item vocabulista grecus et latinus impressus cum fundelo | croceo
Ind. 10353-67.
 27. Item epistule grece diversorum auctorum impresse cum fundelo rubeo
Epistolae diversorum philosophorum, oratorum, rhetorum, I-II, éd. M. Musurus, Venise, A. Manuce, 1499: H.*6659 GW 9367 Ind.3707
Renouard, p.18-19.
 28. Item gramatica Constantini impressa cum fundelo albo
pr. H.9920 Ind.5690 Renouard, p.1.
 29. Item quedam opuscula s. Io. Grisostomi greci cum | calamo in carta membrana cum fundelo rubeo
 30. Item [Ce] Tabula Cebetis impressum cum cohopenura rubea
H.4821 GW 6442 BMC VI.668 Ind.2662.
 31. Item Thehonia Hexiodi cum quibusdam aliis impressa | cum cohopenura rubea
La Théogonie suit Théocrite dans l'édition aldine de février 1495 (cf. *infra* p.208): H.*15477 BMC V.554-5 Ind.9497 Renouard, p.5.
 32. Item Theocretus scriptus calamo cum fundelo albo
 33. Item quoddam opusculum Plutraci scriptum calamo cum | fundelo croceo
Sur les déformations du nom de Plutarque, cf. *infra ad* Inv.II.115 et 165.
 34. Item gramatica Theodori Gace scriptum calamo sine | aliquo fundelo vel cohopenura
Marc.gr. X.10 (1230) pap. XV^s. cm 14 × 21,5 137 fol.
Cont.: THÉODORE GAZA, *Isagoge grammatica*
Poss.: fol.1^v: *nota donationis* type 3
Cat.: Tomasini, p. 21,B,XVII; Marc.ital. XI.323, n°218; Kristeller, II, p.210; Mioni, III, p.47.
 35. Item opus Policidis scriptum calamo cum cohopenura rubea
Policidis pour *Focilidis* (i.e. *Phocylidis*). La même confusion des lettres *P* et *F* se retrouve en Inv. II. 159 (*Placi* pour *Flacci*).
Leidensis BPG 74 F, fol. 1 - 119 (=I-III) pap. fin XV^s. cm 16 × 21,5
Cop.: J. Lascaris (fol. 6-13, 22-74, 76-119^v) et peut-être D. Moschus (fol. 14-21, 75)

- Cont.: (I) [PHOCYLIDE], *Sentences* (fol. 1-5^v); fol. 5^v + [5a-e] blancs; (II) THÉOGNIS, 1 - 1220 (fol. 6-52^v); fol. 52^v bl.; (III) DENYS, *Périégèse* (fol. 53-76); *scholium ad eundem* (fol. 77-78^v; éd. A. Diller, *infra cit.*, p.37) et *paraphrasis* (fol.78^v-119^v; éd. C. Müller, *Geographi graeci minores*, II [Paris, 1861], p.409-425)
- Poss.: fol. 119^v, *nota donationis* (type 6): Calphurnius vir eloquens vates insignis | probitatis natus Canonicis regularib(us) | divj Augustinj libellu(m) grecum — istum | — amoris — d —.
Pour les possesseurs ultérieurs du volume complet (fol. [II]- 124), voir K.A. de Meyier, *infra cit.*, p. 145
- Cat.: D.C.C. Young, "A Codicological Inventory of Theognis Manuscripts", *Scriptorium*, 7 (1953), 26, n°36; K.A. de Meyier (-E. Hulshoff Pol), *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Bibliothecae publicae graecae* (Leiden, 1965), p.142-145 (bibl.); P. Derron, "Inventaire des manuscrits du Ps.-Phocylide", *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 10 (1980), 242, n°68
- Bibl.: K.A. de Meyier, *Paul en Alexandre Petau en de geschiedenis van hun handschriften* (Leiden, 1947), p.47; A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (Lancaster-Oxford, 1952), p.38; P. Derron, éd. du *Ps.-Phocylide. Sentences* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1986), p.CI
- Rem.: Les fol. 120 - 123 (= IV; XV^e s. cm 14,5 × 21,2) contiennent un glossaire de mots commençant par χ - ω; le glossaire du fol. 124 (= V; XV^es. cm 16 × 21,5) porte sur la lettre ε. Je n'ai pu déterminer quand (IV) et (V) ont été réunis à (I-III) ni comment Paul Petau a acquis le ms. complet.
36. Item vocabulista grecus et latinus impressus cum | fundelo rubeo
Cf. *supra* Inv.I.26.
37. Item Homerus de bello ranarum et murum impressus | cum fundelo rubeo
H.*8782 BMC V.408 Ind.4796.
38. Item Suidas impressus cum fundelo rubeo
H.*15135 BMC VI.792 Ind.9189.
39. Item Magnum thimologicum impressum cum fundelo rubeo
H.*6691 GW 9426 BMC V.580 Ind.3720.
40. Item liber gramatice fratris Urbani cum fundelo rubeo | impressus
URBANUS BELLUNENSIS, *Institutiones grammaticae*, précédées d'une lettre d'Alde Manuce à Pic de la Mirandole, d'un *Pater Noster* et d'un *Ave Maria* en grec, Venise, janv.1497 (cf. *supra* p.187, n.21): H.*16098 BMC V.558 Ind.10029. Voir Renouard, p.11-12; Pertusi, *Gramm.*, p.327.
41. Item Olimpionicha sine titulo scriptum calamo cum fundelo | croceo
42. Item epistula Phalaridis scriptum calamo cum cohopen-tura rubea
43. Item herutimata parva scripta calamo in carta | membrana cum cohopen-tura alba
Sur le genre des ἐρωτήματα μικρά, voir Pertusi, *Gramm.*
44. Item gramatica greca scriptum calamo in carta | membrana vetus sine aliquo fundelo vel cohopen-tura
- f.434^r
45. Item opus Sophoclis scriptum calamo cum cohopen-tura rubea

46. Item opus Demostenis scriptum calamo cum cohoptura rubea
47. Item Salterium grecum scriptum calamo cum cohoptura | rubea
 Marc. gr. I.2 (433) pap. a.1446 cm 11 × 14,6 [II]. 284 fol.
 Cont.: Psautier
 Poss.: fol.284^v: *nota donationis* type 1
 Cat.: Tomasini, p.29,B,III; Mioni, I 1, p.5-6.
48. Item officium grecum Virginis Marie impressum cum cohoptura | rubea
Horae beatiss. Virginis secundum consuetudinem Romanae Curiae, Venise,
 Alde Manuce, 1497: H. 8830 Renouard, p.15.
49. Item Ilias Homeri scriptum calamo cum choperta nigra
50. Item Lichofroni de arte [ad] poetica scriptum calamo cum | cohoptura
 rubea
51. Item opus Tucididis scriptum calamo cum cohoptura rubea
52. Item retorica Hermogenis scriptum calamo cum cohoptura de tella |
 azura
53. Item opus unum ecclasticus in greco scriptum calamo vetus et sine | titulo
 cum cohoptura nigra
54. Item liber grecus sine titulo qui incipit [ras.] lixothophanda | scriptus
 calamo cum fundelo viridi
 Wolfenbüttel, Gud.gr.27 pap. XV^s. cm 20,5 × 28 109 fol.
 Cont.: TZETZES, *Scholia in Lycophronis Alexandram*
 Poss.: fol.109^v: *nota donationis* type 5
 Cat.: peut-être Tomasini, p.22,A,XVIII,1.3-5 (voir Rem.); Koehler, p.25-
 26, n° 4214
 Bibl.: Schartau - Smith, p.333
 Rem.: *Lixothophanda* est une transcription approximative des mots λέξω
 τὰ πάντα, par lesquels commence l'*Alexandra*, et qui forment
 l'*incipit* du Gud.gr.27. La notice de Tomasini (*In Lycophronis
 Cassandram scholia graeca. fol. Init. τοῦτο σχῆμα. Codex accurate
 scriptus*) ne reprendrait que l'*incipit* des scholies proprement dites.
55. Item gramatica greca Manuelis Chalephe cum fundelo croceo
 Marc. gr. X.8 (1229) pap. XV^s. cm 14,2 × 22,2 [III]. 40 fol.
 Cop.: fol.40^v: Νικόλαος εὐτελῆς ἱεροῖος
 Cont.: MANUEL CALECAS, *Erotemata*
 Poss.: pas de *nota donationis*
 Cat.: Marc.ital. XI.323, n°228; Mioni, III, p.45
 Bibl.: Cian, p.242, 1.9-10 (proposé Chrysoloras); Pertusi, *Gramm.*, p. 339,
 n.3 ("sembra provenire anch' esso da S. Giovanni di Verdara")
 Rem.: la seule grammaire de Calecas que connaisse Tomasini (p.21,A,
 XVII) a appartenu à Pietro da Montagnana.
56. Item Comedia [Aristotelis] Aristophani cohopta de rubea impressa
Editio princeps des Comoediae novem en grec, Venise, Alde Manuce, juillet
 1498: H.*1656 GW 2333 BMC V.559 Ind.790.
57. Item opera Homeri impressa cum chopertura rubea
 H. 8772 BMC VI.678 Ind.4795.

Qui omnes libri dicuntur esse greci

58. Item Gayus Plinius de naturali[s] instoria impressus cum cohopenura | rubea
pr. H.13087 BMC V.153 Ind.7878.
59. Item Dionisius Alicarnaseus impressus cum [cohopenura] fundelo | rubeo
H.*6239- GW 8423- Ind.3484-.
60. Item Servius in opera Vergilii cum cohopenura rubea impressus
pr. H.*14703 Ind.8943 ou 8947 Flodr, p.284.
61. Item orationes Marci [C.] T. Ciceronis impresse cum cohopenura | rubea
H. 5118-.
62. Item Vite Plutarci cum cohopenura nigra latine impressum
Marc. incun. V.24 (Venise, N. Jenson, 1478)
Cont.: PLUTARQUE, *Vies parallèles*, trad. Laps Florentinus et alii
Poss.: notes marginales de la main de Calphurnius
Cat.: H.*13127 Ind.7922
Bibl.: Franceschini - Pertusi, p.327 (= Pertusi, *Pil.*, p.534)
Rem.: à propos des travaux de Calphurnius sur Plutarque, cf. *supra*
p.185-6. Voir aussi Flodr, p.250.
63. Item Quintilianus impressus cum cohopenura rubea
H. 13644-. Cf. *supra* p.185, n.10 et *infra* Inv. II.108; 114.
64. Item omnia opera Ciceronis preter orationes cum cohopenura rubea
Cf. *supra* p.188.

fol.434*

Die XX mensis Ianuarii

Sup. d. vicarius se contulit ut *supra* et in dicta secunda camera

1. Item Augustinus de civitate Dei cum cohopenura rubea impressus
pr. H.*2046 GW 2874 BMC IV.2 Ind.966.
2. Item Strabo impresus cum cohopenura rubea
Trad. Guarinus Veronensis (livres I-IX) et Georgius Tiphernas (I.XI-XVII),
Rome, 1469: H. 15086 BMC IV.8 Ind.9170.
Voir A.M. Biraschi - P. Maribelli - G.D. Massaro - M.A. Pagnotta,
Strabone. Saggio di bibliografia 1469-1978 (Pérouse, 1981), p.35; A. Diller,
The Textual Tradition of Strabo's Geography (Amsterdam, 1975), p.126-129.
3. Item [opera Ciceron] Iohannes Tortelius impressus cum cohopenura | rubea [ras.]
Orthographia, pr. H.*15563-4 BMC V.170 Ind.9681-2.
4. Item epistule domini Hieronimi impresse cum fundelo viridi
pr. H. 8551 BMC IV.5 Ind.4733.
5. Item comentaria Cesaris impressa cum cohopenura nigra
pr. H.*4212 GW 5863 BMC IV.7 Ind.2320.
6. Item orationes Ciceronis impresse cum cohopenura rubea | veteri
Cf. *supra* Inv. I.61. La forme *veteri* se retrouve en Inv. II.102; 105.
7. Item Cornelius istoricus impressus cum cohopenura nigra
pr. H.*5733 BMC V.167 Ind.3211.
8. Item Lucius Apuleius impressus cum cohopenura nigra
Opera, pr. H.*1314 GW 2301 BMC IV.6 Ind.769.

9. Item Ovidius Metamorphoseos impressus cum fundelo | rubeo
L'édition d'Ovide par Culphurnius s'ouvrait avec les *Métamorphoses*: cf. *supra* p.185, n.11.
10. Item Helus Pertianus de vita Adriani Imperatoris impressus | cum fundelo pavonatio
AELIUS SPARTIANUS. *Editio princeps* de l'*Histoire Auguste* (Milan, 1475): H.*14561 BMC VI.702 Ind.8847.
11. Item Ilias Homeri latina cum fundelo pavonacio
12. Item Hodixia Homeri latine scriptum calamo cum cohoptura | rubea
Marc. lat.XII.23 (3946) pap. a.1398 cm 22 × 30 [I],108,[I]fol.n.n.
Cont.: HOMÈRE, *Odyssée*, trad. lat. anonyme
Poss.: (1) fol.108^v: *Franciscus de Zabarellis feci scribi 1398*;
(2) *passim*: corrections et notes marginales de la main de Calphurnius; fol.108^r: *nota donationis* type 4
Cat.: Tomasini, p.25,B - 26,A, XXIV; Kristeller, II, p.257; Zorzanello, II, p.108-109
Bibl.: Franceschini - Pertusi, p.323-355 (= Pertusi, *Pil.*, p.531-563)
Repr.: fol.25^v sup. (main de C.) chez Franceschini - Pertusi, pl.III (= Pertusi, *Pil.*, pl.XXX,1).
13. Item Iulius Frontinus cum quibusdam aliis impressus cum | fundelo [pavo] rubeo
C.2594 BMC VI.828.
14. Item epistule Ciceronis ad Brutum cum cohoptura rubea | impressum
pr. H.*5213 GW 6858 BMC IV.9 Ind.2801.
15. Item Silius Italicus cum fundelo rubeo impressus
pr. H.*14733 + C.1417 BMC IV.13 Ind.8972.
16. Item Nicolaus Perotus in Polibii istoriarum libros cum | cohoptura nigra impressus
Traduction latine de Polybe par Niccolò Perotti, Rome, 1473: H.*13246 BMC IV.16 Ind.7978. Sur la formule *X in Y*, voir Inv.II.46;137.
17. Item enarationes prischarum vocum Marci Catonis impresse | cum fundelo rubeo
H.*14565 et *14568 Ind.8854-5. Cf. *supra* p.187, n.21.
18. Item Plotinus impressus cum fundelo croceo
Trad. M.Ficin, pr. H.*13121 BMC VI.640 Ind.7906.
f.435^r
19. Item Pauxanias impressus cum cohoptura rubea
Il doit s'agir de la *Descriptio Atticae* de Pausanias (en fait les livres I-II,6,2) traduite par Domizio Calderini, et éditée, après la mort de celui-ci (juin 1478), chez Ottino di Luna, à Venise, vers 1500: H. 12526 BMC V.570 Ind.7366. Le ms. de base est à Vérone, *Capitol.*, cod. CCLVII, fol.31-93.
Sur le projet de Calderini d'éditer la traduction complète, voir G.B. Parks, "Pausanias", dans *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, II (Washington, 1971), p.216-217; Perosa, *Cald.*, p.602-603. Cf. *infra ad* Inv. II.52 et *supra* Inv.I.3.
20. Item Dioscorides latinus impresus cum fundelo rubeo

- Trad. Petrus Paduanus, pr. H.*6258 GW 8436 BMC VII.1078 Ind.3492.
21. Item Chastigationes Pliniane Hermolai Barbari imprese | cum fundelo croceo
pr. H.*2421 GW 3340 BMC IV.112 Ind.1210.
 22. Item opera Plathonis impressa cum fundelo viridi
Trad. M. Ficin, pr. H.*13062 BMC VI.666 Ind.7860.
 23. Item Georgius Valla duo volumina magna cum | fundelis rubeis impressa
Sans doute les deux volumes grand in-fol. du *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, Venise, A. Manuce, 1501: Renouard, p.30-31.
 24. Item Dionisius Alicarnaxeus latine impressus cum | fundelo rubeo
Cf. supra Inv. I.59.
 25. Latancius in carta membrana scriptus calamo cum | cohopenitura nigra deaurata
 26. Item Gayus Valirius Flachus impressus cum fundelo | rubeo
pr. C. 5925 BMC VI.805 Ind.10050. *Cf. infra* Inv. II.159.
 27. Item Caldarinus in Silvas Stacii impressus cum cohopenitura | rubea
H. 4244 (I) GW 5893 Ind.2361.
 28. Item Roberti Valturii rei militaris liber impressus | cum fundelo rubeo
pr. H.*15847 BMC VII.948 Ind.10114.
 29. Item Ovidius de fastis cum comento <et> fundelo rubeo
 30. Item alter Caldanus impressus cum fundelo
Il faut sans doute comprendre *alius liber Domitii Calderini*. La bibliographie de Calderini est examinée par Perosa, *Cald.*, p. 603-604.
 31. Item Marcus Varo [impr] de lingua latina impressus | cum cohopenitura rubea
pr. H.*15852 BMC IV.37 Ind.10117.
 32. Item Leo Baptista Albertus de re hedificatoria impressus cum | [cohopenitura rubea] fundelo rubeo
H.*419 GW 579 BMC VI.630 Ind.155.
 33. Item helegia Propercii impressa cum fundelo rubeo
pr. C. 4888 Ind.8086.
 34. Item Laurencius Valensis de lingua latina impressus | cum cohopenitura rubea
pr. H.15801 Ind.10081. Voir aussi p.185, n.13.
 35. Item Iunianus (vel Iuvianus) vocabulista impressus cum fundelo rubeo
Peut-être s'agit-il de *Vocabula pro iuvenibus* comme chez C.6278-9. À propos du nom *vocabulista*, voir C.6305-6. *Cf. supra* Inv.I.26; 36.
 36. Item Suetonius cum Philipo Beroualdo impressus cum | fundelo rubeo
pr. avec les *Annotationes* de Beroaldus: H.*15126 Ind.9238.
f.435^v
 37. Item Temistius in librum posteriorum latinus impressus | cum fundelo nigro
Trad. H. Barbarus, pr. H.*15463 Ind.9491.
 38. Item Plondus Flavius impressus cum fundelo rubeo
BLONDUS: H.*3242-.
 39. Item Georgius Trebesuntius impressus cum cohopenitura | zalla
H.7605-.

40. Item Theodorus Thexaloliensis Grecus impressus cum | fundelo rubeo
Theodorus Thessalonicensis ou GAZA ou Graecus. Cf. *infra* Inv.II.46.
Les deux "ethniques" de Th. Gaza se retrouvent dans les titres de H.*1699-
*1700.
41. Item genealogie Io. Bochacii impressa cum fundelo | pavonacio
pr. des *Genealogiae Deorum*: H.*3315 GW 4475 BMC V.162
Ind.1796.
42. Item Iosephus Iudeus istoricus impressus cum fundelo | rubeo
H.9449-.
43. Item Laurentius Valensis de lingua latina cum | fundelo rubeo impressus
Cf. *supra* Inv. II.34.
44. Item Athanasius contra herethicos latinus impressus | cum fundelo albo
Trad. Omnibonus Leonicens, pr. H.*1905 GW 2760 BMC
VII.1032 Ind.930.
45. Item [Cl] Tholomeus impressus cum fundelo | rubeo
H.*13536-.
46. Item Theodorus Grecus in libro [ras.] de animalibus | impressus cum
cohopenitura rubea
Trad. du *De animalibus* d'Aristote par Th. Gaza: H.*1699 - *1700. Cf.
supra ad Inv. II.40.
47. Item Virgilius impressus cum fundelo viridi
C. 5996-.
48. Item Machobrius impressus cum fundelo zalo
H.10426-.
49. Item divus Augustinus contra achademicos cum fundelo | rubeo
50. Item Euclides in geometria impressus cum fundelo | nigro
Trad. J. Campanus, pr. H.*6693 BMC V.285 Ind.3722.
51. Item [A] rhetorica Aristotelis latina scripta calamo | cum fundelo viridi
Marc. lat. XI.5 (3810) pap. XV^s. cm 16,5 × 23 [I], 84 fol.n.n.
Cont.: ARISTOTE, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, trad. Fr. Philelphus (fol. 1-
61); AVERROËS, *Commentarium medium in Poeticam* sans le
prologue, trad. H. Alamannus (fol.61^v-81^r); fol.81^v-84 bl.
Poss.: fol.[I^v]: *nota donationis* type 1 (var.: *proficiens*; *sit*)
Cat.: Tomasini, p.26,B,XXVII; *Aristoteles Latinus*, II (1955), p. 1113,
n°1630; Ferrari, dans *Mostra*, p.69, n°105; Kristeller, II, p. 253;
Zorzanello, I, p.440-441.
52. Item Domicius Caldarinus introductio Pausanie | cum fundelo rubeo
Le ms. de la traduction qu'entreprend Calderini de la *Périégèse* de Pausanias
est à Vérone, *Capitol.*, cod.CCLVII, fol.31-93. Cf. *supra ad* Inv. II.19.
f.436^r
53. Item Questiones Tuschulanarum scripte calamo cum | fundelo viridi
54. Item Franciscus Philelphus cum fundelo zallo
55. Item Paulus Vergerius impressus cum fundelo rubeo
H. 15981-16003 C. 5982-5986. Cf. *supra* p.185.
56. Item Suethonius impressus cum cohopenitura rubea
pr. H.15115-*15116 BMC IV.11;29.

57. Item poemata pulcra latina impressa cum fundelo rubeo
 58. Item Nonius Marcelus impressus cum fundelo zalo
pr. H. 11899 Ind.6927.
 59. Item Claudius Claudianus impresus cum fundelo | rubeo
H.*5370-.
 60. Item Lucrecius impressus cum fundelo nigro
pr. H.10281.
 61. Item tragedie Senece impresse cum fundelo rubeo
H. 14661-.
 62. Item Iustinus impressus cum fundelo rubeo
pr. H. 9646 BMC IV.19 Ind.5551.
 63. Item [Georgiu] Diogenes Laercius impresus cum | fundelo pavonacio
Trad. A. Traversarius, pr. H.6196 GW 8378 BMC VII.1127
Ind.3458.
 64. Item Vergilius cum comento impressus cum fundelo | rubeo
Avec le commentaire de Servius: C.6038-.
 65. Item orationes Tullii imprese cum fundelo viridi
Cf. *supra* Inv.I.61.
 66. Item Valerius Maximus scriptus calamo cum cohoptura | rubea
 67. Item Plautus impressus cum cohoptura rubea
pr. H.13074 BMC V.160 Ind.7869.
 68. Item Cornucopie impressus cum fundelo rubeo
[N. PEROTTI], *Cornucopiae*, pr. H.*12697 BMC V.455 Ind.7419
Renouard, p.19.
 69. Item Tullius Cicero de finibus bonorum et malorum impressus | cum
fundelo pavonacio
pr. H.*5326 GW 6884 BMC I.188 Ind.2861.
 70. Item logyca Augustini impressa cum fundelo zallo
pr. H.2110 GW 2957 BMC VI.623 Ind.1003.
 71. Item rethorica Ciceronis scripta calamo cum tabulis | rubeis
Sur le sens de *tabulae* (plats d'une reliure, souvent en bois), cf. Rizzo, p.66.
 72. Valerius Maximus impressus cum fundelo rubeo
pr. H.*15773 Ind.10054.
 73. Item retorice Ciceronis impresse cum cohoptura rubea
pr. de la *Rhetorica ad Herennium* avec le *De inventione*: H.*5057 GW
6709 BMC V.166 Ind.2959.
 74. Item Gayetanus in libros phisicorum cum fundelo rubeo
GAËTAN de THIENE, *Recollectae super Physica Aristotelis*. Cf. *infra* Inv.
II.100.
 75. Item epistole Ovidii impresse cum fundelo tendente ad nigrum
Epistolae Heroidum, pr. H.12178.
 76. Item traducio Leonardi Aretini cum fundelo rubeo
 77. Item opera Boecii cum fundelo rubeo impressa
H.*3351-*3352 GW 4511-2 BMC V.341;350 Ind.1816-7.
- f.436^v
78. Item Heusebius de preparacione evangelica impressus cum | fundelo rubeo
Trad. G. de Trébizonde, pr. H.*6699 GW 9440 BMC V.167
Ind.3754.

79. Item Phisica Aristotelis impressa cum fundelo rubeo
H. 1683 GW 2443 Ind.839.
80. Item Blondus istoricus cum fundelo viridi
81. Item Papinius Stacii cum fundelo rubeo
82. Item Terentius impressus cum fundelo albo
C.5730-. Sur l'édition de Térence par Calphurnius, cf. *supra* p.185, n. 11.
83. Item [Paulus] Aulus Gelius impressus cum cohopenura rubea
Aulus *supra lineam*; pr. H.7517 BMC IV.6 Ind.4186.
84. Item liber retorices Fortunatianus cum fundelo viridi
85. Item Augustinus Datus cum quibusdam aliis cum fundelo rubeo
Il s'agit des *Elegantiolae* de Datus avec les *alia* que Tomasini (p.27,A-B,XXVIII) désigne de la sorte: *M.T.* (i.e. *Marci Tullii de Amicitia infectus elegantiiis Augustini Daci in 4. De syllabarum quantitate. Donum Calphurnij.* Cf. *supra* p.188, n.28.
86. Item invectiva Laurencii Valensis in Pogium cum fundelo albo
87. Item Lucius Fenestela impressus cum fundelo rubeo
pr. du *De Romanorum magistratibus*: H.6960 GW 10038 Ind.3813.
88. Item Marcianus Capela impressus cum fundelo rubeo
pr. H.*4370 BMC VII.1048 Ind.2426.
89. Item Phicinus liber Matixeos cum fundelo pavonatio | impresus
FIRMICUS MATERNUS, *Liber Matheseos*, pr. H.*7121 bis GW 9980 Ind.3975.
90. Item Mixelanea Policiani cum fundelo rubeo impressa
Policiani *supra lineam*; H.*13221 Ind.7959.
91. Item Diodorus Siculus traductus in fundelo nigro impressus
Trad. du Pogge, pr. H.6188 GW 8374 BMC VI.799 Ind.3451.
92. Item Heusebius de temporibus impressus cum fundelo
Version de S. Jérôme, pr. H.6716 GW 9432 BMC VI.703 Ind.3752.
93. Item panagricos cum fundelo impressus
Panegyrici veteres latini: H.13119-20.
94. Item opus Pogii Florentini scriptum calamo cum fundelo rubeo
95. Item Iginus de signis celestibus impressus cum fundelo rubeo
pr. H.9061 Ind.4958.
96. Item Therentianus Maurus cum quibus<dam> aliis impressus cum | fundelo rubeo
C.5729 BMC VI.771 Ind.9404.
97. Item Psalterium cum fundelo pavonacio impressum in forma | parva
A propos de la *forma parva*, les données numériques de S. Rizzo (*Lessico*, p.48) vont d'un maximum de 16,5 × 26 cm à un minimum de 12 × 17,5 cm.
98. Item Cornelius Celsus in medicinalibus impressus cum | fundelo
pr. H.*4835 GW 6456 BMC VI.627 Ind.2674.
99. Item opera Omniboni Lionicensi cum fundelo rubeo
100. Item quedam exposiciones Gayetani super Aristotelem imprese | cum fundelo rubeo
H.15496-.

101. Item Officia Ciceronis cum comenti impressa cum fundelo | viridi
pr. avec le commentaire de P. Marsus: H.*5271 GW 6950 BMC
V.321 Ind.2907.
102. Item Cicero de oratore impressus cum fundelo veteri
pr. H.*5098 GW 6742 BMC IV.1 Ind.2941.
- f.437'
103. Item Epistule familiares Francisci Petrarche impresse | cum fundelo rubeo
pr. H. + 12810 Ind.7569.
104. Item Salustius impressus cum fundelo rubeo
H.*14187-.
105. Item exposiciones Polentoni impresse cum cohoptura veteri
Sans doute Sicco Polentonius, auteur d'une biographie de S. Antoine
(H.13212) et coéditeur de plusieurs classiques latins (*cf. ex.gr.* H.15120).
106. Item Anotaciones Merule cum fundelo rubeo
107. Item Problemata Alexandri Afrodixii impressa cum fundelo | nigro
Trad. G. Valla, avec les *Problemata* d'Aristote traduits par Théodore Gaza
et une *Lettre* de Calphurnius à Marcus Aurelius (fol.75'), Venise, 1488:
H.*658 GW 860 BMC V.295 Ind.284. *Cf. supra* p.185, n.13.
108. Item declamaciones Quintiliani cum fundelo rubeo impresse
pr. H.13657 BMC V.280.
Cf. supra p.187, n.21.
109. Item epistule Plinii imprese cum fundelo rubeo
pr. H.*13110 BMC V.183 Ind.7896.
110. Item quosmografia Pomponii Mele impressa cum fundelo | rubeo
pr. H.11014 BMC VI.699 Ind.6339.
111. Item carm[il]yna Ruphi Festi impressa cum fundelo viridi | impressa
pr. H.2223 GW 3131 BMC V.294 Ind.1131.
112. Item liber dictus herbarius impressus cum fundelo | zallo
H.8443-.
113. Item interpretacio Thebaydo Stacii impressa cum fundelo rubeo
H.14975-.
114. Item declamaciones Quintiliani impresse cum fundelo rubeo
Cf. supra Inv. II.108.
115. Item Apostemata Putarchii impressa cum fundelo rubeo
Trad. des Ἀποφθέγματα par Fr. Philelphus: H.13139-*13140 BMC
V.157; 187 Ind.7907-8. La forme *Putarchi(i)* se retrouve en Inv.II.165.
116. Item Silius Ytalicus impressus cum fundelo rubeo
Cf. supra Inv.II.15.
117. Item Epistule Senece impresse cum fundelo rubeo
H.*14597-.
118. Item Suetonius de vita XII Cexarum cum comento impressus | cum fundelo
nigro
H.*15122-.
119. Item Luchanus impressus cum fundelo zallo
pr. H.*10231 BMC IV.9 Ind.5810.
120. Item I Comentum super Iuvenale impressus cum fundelo rubeo

- Peut-être l'édition des *Commentarii in Juvenalem* de Calderini par Calphurnius. Cf. *supra* p.186.
121. Item Clavis sanationis impressa cum fundelo croceo
Simon Genuensis, *Synonyma Medicinae sive Clavis sanationis*, Milan, 1473: H. 14748 BMC VI.710.
 122. Item Titulius impressus cum fundelo zallo
Titus Livius: pr. H.*10128 BMC IV.8 Ind.5769.
 123. Item Epithomata Lucii Flori impressa cum fundelo rubeo
pr. H.7196 GW 10092 BMC VIII.3 Ind.4007.
 124. Item Paulus Orosius impressus cum fundelo rubeo
pr. H.*12101 Ind.7033.
 125. Item Auxonius poeta impressus cum fundelo
pr. H.2176 GW 3090 BMC V.211 Ind.1097.
 126. Item Erodianus istoricus traductus impressus cum fundelo | viridi
Trad. A. Politien: H.8466 BMC IV.137 Ind.4689.
 127. Item Dionisius gramaticus impressus <cum> cohoptura rubea
H.*6239-.
 128. Item liber Echnomicorum traductus impressus cum fundelo | rubeo
Trad. des *Économiques* d'Aristote par L. Brunus, Venise, c.1470: H.1774 GW 2435 BMC V.185 Ind.833.
- f.437^v
129. Item Oratius cum comento impressus cum fundelo nigro
H.*8876-.
 130. Item propositiones Aristotilis impresse cum fundelo rubeo
La tradition imprimée des *Propositiones Aristotelis*, une des familles des *Parvi flores*, se repartit elle-même en deux branches; voir J. Hamesse, *Les Auctoritates Aristotelis*, Philosophes médiévaux, 17 (Louvain - Paris, 1974), p. 44-45.
 131. Item Epistule divi Cipriani impresse cum fundelo croceo
pr. H.*5896 GW 7883 BMC IV.12 Ind.3294.
 132. Item Comentum Calderini super Marciale impressum cum | cohoptura rubea
Ed. par Calphurnius; cf. *supra* p.186.
 133. Item Plinius de viris illustribus cum quibusdam aliis impressus | <cum> fundelo nigro
H.13116-7 H.-C.13118. Sur l'attribution à Pline d'un *De viris*, voir Sabbadini, p.3; 8; 24; 138.
 134. Item Expositio super versus Pithagoricos impressa cum fundelo rubeo
HIÉROCLÈS, *In aureos versus Pythagorae opusculum*, trad. J. Aurispa, Padoue, avril 1474: H.*8545 BMC VII.906 Ind.4726.
 135. Item Vegetius de re militari impressus cum fundelo rubeo
pr. H.15910 BMC IX.10 Ind.10125.
 136. Item Mirabilia Solini impressa cum fundelo rubeo
pr. H.*14877 BMC V.173 Ind.9084.
 137. Item interpretacio in Opanum impressa cum fundelo rubeo
Trad. des *Halieutica* par L. Lippius, Colle, 1478: H.*12015 BMC VII.1079
Ind.7006. Cf. Inv.II.16.

138. Item opus Platine de honestate et impressum cum fundelo rubeo
pr. H.13049 Ind.7847.
139. Item Tragedie Senecae scripte calamo veteres cum cohopenitura rubea vetere
(*vel etiam veteri: cf. supra Inv.II.6*)
140. Item Livius impressus cum cohopenitura rubea
Cf. supra Inv. II.122.
141. Item Comentum quoddam super Oratio impressum cum fundelo | rubeo
S'il faut comprendre *super Horatium*: H.*8876-.
142. Item Vergilius impressus cum comento cum fundelo rubeo
Cf. supra Inv. II.64.
143. Item quoddam opusculum Modesti de re militari et impressum | cum
fundelo rubeo
pr. H.11443 BMC V.209 Ind.6656 Flodr, p.216.
144. Item Enicheridion divi Augustini scriptum calamo cum fundelo | rubeo
145. Item Epistule Plinii impressae cum fundelo rubeo (nigro *ante correctionem*)
Cf. supra Inv. II.109.
146. Item liber officiorum Ciceroni impressus cum fundelo rubeo
Liber *supra lineam*; pr. H.5238 GW 6921 BMC I.23 Ind.2884.
147. Item Ovidii opera impressa cum fundelo tendente ad album
Éd. par Calphurnius; *cf. supra* p.185, n.11.
148. Item vite quorundam illustrium cum fundelo viridi impressae
149. Item Exposicio Sancti Thome impressa cum fundelo rubeo | super polati-
cham
S. THOMAS d'AQUIN, *In octo Politicorum libros*: H. + 1515-*1516.
150. Item liber de natura deorum et quedam alia Ciceronis impressa | cum
fundelo rubeo
pr. H.*5334 GW 6902 BMC V.158 Ind.2878.
151. Item Donatus grammaticus impressus cum cohopenitura alba
H.6322-.
152. Item Publius Candidus de civilibus Romanorum bellis impressus | cum
cohopenitura rubea
f.438'
153. Item Epistula Ciceronis familiares cum comento impressae | cum cohopeni-
tura nigra
pr. H.*5187 GW 6834 BMC V.296 Ind.2833.
154. Item exposicio Victorini in rhetoricam veterem Tullii in membrana | cum
fundelo viridi
Marc.lat. XI.23 (4686) parch. XIII^s. cm 15 × 21 86 fol.n.n.
Cont.: M. FABIUS VICTORINUS, *Comm. in Ciceronis De inventione*
(*quae et vetus rhetorica*) *libros II* (fol.1-40); ANON., *Explanatio in*
Rhetoricam Ciceronis ad Herennium (fol.41-86)
Poss.: fol.86^v: *nota donationis* type 2
Cat.: Tomasini, p.26,B,XXVI (*Fabii Victorini explanationes in Rhetori-*
cam veterem Ciceronis in 4); Kristeller, II, p.238-239; Zorzanello, I,
p.453-454.
155. Item Quintus Curcius de vita Alexandri impressus cum fundelo | rubeo
pr. H.*5878 GW 7871 BMC V.163 Ind.3286.

156. Item liber silvarum absque tabulis impressus
 Sans doute les *Silves* de Stace; avec le commentaire de D. Calderini:
 H.*14979-14983. Sur le sens de *tabulae*, cf. *supra ad Inv.* II.71.
157. Item vocabulista quidam impressus cum fundelo albo
 Cf. *supra Inv.* I.26; 36; II.35.
158. Item Thopica Tulii impressa
 pr. H.5116 GW 6759 Ind.2986.
159. Item Argonautica Placi imperfecta et non compaginata
 Pour la forme *Placi* (au lieu de *Flacci*), cf. *supra ad Inv.* I.35. Sur le sens de *imperfectus* chez les humanistes ("dont il manque la fin"), voir Rizzo, p.240.
160. Item Vitruvius impressus cum fundelo rubeo
 pr. C.6268 BMC IV.124 Ind.10346.
161. Item Theocritus scriptus calamo grecus cum fundelo rubeo
162. Item liber parimion grecus impressus cum fundelo rubeo
 Ζηνοβίου ἐπιτομή τῶν Ταρραίου καὶ Διδύμου παροιμιῶν συντεθεισῶν κατὰ στοιχεῖον, Florence, B. Ricardinus, 1497: H. 16283 BMC VI.690.
 Cf. *supra* p.187, n.21.
163. Item fabule Esopi grece impressae cum fundelo zallo
 H.*265-267 GW 312-314 Ind.60-62.
164. Item Olinthericha [gr] Demostenis greca scripta calamo | cum fundelo rubeo
 Pal.Vat.gr.142, I^e partie (fol.2-133) pap. XV^es. cm 16,5 × 21,5
 Cont.: DÉMOSTHÈNE, 1-3 (*Olynthiennes*, fol.2-20); 18 (*Sur la Cour.*, fol. 20^v-77^v); fol.77^v-81 bl.; LYCOPHRON (fol.82-112; fol.109^v bl.); HÉSIODE, *Théogonie* (fol.113-133^v)
 Poss.: fol.133^v: *nota donationis* cancellée de type 1 (var.: *proficiens*).
 La I^e partie du ms., fascicule originellement indépendant (cf. *infra* Rem.), a été copiée en 1470-71 pour Lorenzo da Camerino (ou L. Camers, ou Creticus). Professeur de grec et de latin à Padoue de 1485 à 1500 et, par intermittence, de 1500 à 1505, celui-ci prêta son ms. à Calphurnius. A la mort de ce dernier, le volume fut enregistré dans l'inventaire du legs à S. Giovanni. Le 24 janvier 1503, L. da Camerino, alors ambassadeur de Venise près la cour de Lisbonne, faisait récupérer son bien par Zanotus de Chypre (cf. *infra* la note ajoutée à l'inventaire, fol.439^v, 1.4-11)
 Cat.: H. Stevenson senior, *Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome, 1885), p.73-74.
 Bibl.: Marcotte, p. 57-73.
 Repr.: Marcotte, pl.I (fol.1^v); pl.II (fol.133^v)
 Rem.: la II^e partie du ms. (fol.134-271) date des années 1505-6, et contient une paraphrase aux *Idylles* I-VIII de Théocrite et une copie du corpus des *Geographi graeci minores* du Paris.suppl.gr.443.
165. Item quedam moralia Putarchi scripta calamo absque tabulis greca
 Holkham 276 pap. XV^es. cm. 20 × 28,3 [III] 63 fol.
 Cont.: PLUTARQUE, *Traité moraux* 7 (fol.1-22); 22 (fol.23-41^v); 5 (fol. 41^v-47); 14 (fol.48-63)

Poss.: *nota donationis* type 1 (var.: *lector gratus existat*)³⁴

Cat.: Tomasini, p.22, A, XVIII, 1.12-16; H. Schenkl, *Bibliotheca Patrum latinorum Britannica*, II, 3 (Vienne, 1896), p.79; De Ricci, p.23; R. Barbour, "Summary Description of the Greek Manuscripts from the Library at Holkham Hall", *The Bodleian Library Record*, 6 (1960), p.610, n°97

Bibl.: Förster, p.160

Rem.: pour la graphie *Putarchi* (Cian lisait *Secundi*), voir Inv.II.115.

Sur l'acquisition par Coke de mss. de S. Giovanni, cf. *supra* p.185.

166. Item vocabula g<r>eca scripta calamo cum fundelo nigro

167. Item vocabula greca exposita latine impressa cum fundelo | rubeo
Cf. *supra* Inv. I.26; 36.

168. Item Annotaciones Beroaldi impressa cum quibusdam aliis | absque tabulis
H.2946 GW 4114 BMC VII.991 Ind.1583.

Item cum (*expl.*)

(Fol.438^r, 1.25 - 439^v, 1.3: notes relatives aux *litterae et chirographa* de Calphurnius trouvés à son domicile et à l'affectation de la somme d'argent laissée par lui; éd. V. Cian, p.246-247.)

fol.439^v, 1.4-11

Die XXIII mensis Ianuarii

Coram sp. d. vicario comparuit excellens artium et | medicine doctor d. magister Zanotus de Cipro nomine domini | magistri Crethici et exposuit quod vivente domino Iohanne | Chalfurnio idem d. Crethicus eidem acomodavit | duo opera greca [*ras.*] Lichofroni et orationes Demostenis | in greco prout patet cirographo [*ras.*] manu dicti d. Calfurni. | Ideo fuit protestatus etc.

Sur ce prêt, cf. *supra ad* Inv. II.164. Deux volumes ont fait l'objet du "commodat chirographaire": le Pal.Vat. gr.142 (1^e partie = Inv.II.164), qui contient les *Olynthiennes* et le discours *Sur la Couronne* de Démosthène et l'*Alexandra* de Lycophron, et un autre ms. renfermant des scholies ou un commentaire à ce dernier (cf. Inv. I.50 et 54). Les œuvres citées étaient encore inédites; l'*editio princeps* de Démosthène en grec est de 1504 (Renouard, p.47), celle de Lycophron de 1513 (Renouard, p.64). La *Théogonie*, sur laquelle s'achève le premier *codex* du Palatinus, avait été imprimée par Alde en 1495 (Renouard, p.5); c'est la raison pour laquelle le *chirographum* invoqué par Zanotus ne devait pas la reprendre (cf. *supra ad* I.31).

³⁴ En l'absence de catalogues détaillés de la bibliothèque de Holkham Hall, on ne peut fournir de données plus précises sur le manuscrit. Voir J.E. Graham, "The Cataloguing of the Holkham Manuscripts", *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 5 (1964-68), p.128-154.

(Fol.439^v, l.12-17: à la date du 26 janvier 1503, réclamation de deux créanciers de Calphurnius; éd. V. Cian, p.248.)

fol.439^v, l.18-23

Die XXVIII Ianuarii [ras.] predicti

Coram sp. d. vicario comparuit ser Io. Baptista Brenta et fuit protestatus | bona et pecunias q. d. Calfuri ellevari non debere ex manibus | depositato-
rum nisi prius sibi restituto libro Odisee Homeri grece | alias acomodato
dicto q. d. Calfurno ..ext ... aureis precii | liquida ...

Le prêteur est peut-être un parent d'Andrea Brenta, professeur au Studio de Padoue à la fin du XV^e siècle (Pertusi, *Pil.*, p.557, n.1). Le volume prêté, une *Odyssée* en grec, ne figure pas dans l'inventaire.

(fol.440^r: inventaire d'autres biens meubles ayant appartenu à Calphurnius; éd. V. Cian, p.248.)

Université de Liège

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- Aristoteles Latinus*. Codices descripsit G. Lacombe, in societatem operis adsumptis A. Birkenmaier, M. Dulong, E. Franceschini, I-III (Rome - Cambridge - Bruges - Paris, 1955-1961);
- Ausst. Wolf.: Griechische Handschriften und Aldinen*. Eine Ausstellung anlässlich der XV. Tagung der Mommsen-Gesellschaft in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 16.V - 29.VI.1978. Katalog von D. Harlfinger u. M.v.Sicherl (Wolfenbüttel, 1978);
- Bandini: J.M.B., *Catalogus codicum mss. Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, I (Florence, 1764; réimpr. avec suppl. Leipzig, 1961);
- BMC: *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum*, I-XII (Londres, 1908-1985);
- C.: W.A. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum*, I-II,2 (Londres, 1895-1902; réimpr. Milan, 1950);
- Cian: V.C., "Un umanista bergamasco del Rinascimento: Giovanni Calfurnio", *Archivio storico lombardo*, S.IV, 37 (fasc.27, 1910), p.221-248;
- De Ricci: S.D.R., *A Handlist of Manuscripts in the Library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall* (Oxford, 1932);
- Diller, *Studies*: A.D., *Studies in Greek Manuscript Tradition* (Amsterdam, 1983);
- Flodr: M.F., *Incunabula Classicorum. Wiegendrucke der griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Amsterdam, 1973);
- Förster: R.F., "Handschriften in Holkham", *Philologus*, 42 (1884), p.158-167;

- Franceschini - Pertusi: E.F. - A.P., "Un'ignota Odissea latina dell'ultimo Trecento", *Aevum*, 33 (1959), 323-355 (rééd. par Pertusi, *Pil.*, p.531-563);
- GW: *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, I-VII (2^e éd., Stuttgart-New York, 1968); VIII (Stuttgart - Berlin - New York, 1978);
- H.: L. Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD typis impressi ... enumerantur ...*, I-IV (Stuttgart-Paris, 1826-1838; réimpr. Milan, 1948);
- Ind.: T.M. Guarnaschelli - E. Valenziani, *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia*, I-VI (Rome, 1943-1972);
- Knös: B.K., *Un ambassadeur de l'hellénisme — Janus Lascaris — et la tradition gréco-byzantine dans l'humanisme français* (Uppsala - Stockholm - Paris, 1945);
- Koehler: F.K., "Die griechischen Handschriften [zu Wolfenbüttel]", dans *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, éd. O.v.Heinemann, IV, 9 (Wolfenbüttel, 1913);
- Kristeller: P.O.K., *Iter Italicum*, I-III (Londres-Leyde, 1963-1983);
- Marcotte: D.M., "De Lorenzo da Camerino à Henry Scrimger. Histoire d'un manuscrit Palatin", *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 55-56 (1985-86), 57-73;
- Mioni: E.M., *Codices graeci manuscripti bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum*, I-III (Rome, 1960-1973);
- Mioni, *Arist.cod.*: E.M., *Aristotelis codices graeci qui in bibliothecis Venetis adservantur* (Padoue, 1958);
- Mostra: Manoscritti e stampe venete dell'aristotelismo e averroismo (secoli X-XVI)*. Catalogo di mostra a cura di E. Mioni e G.E. Ferrari (Venise, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, 1958);
- Müller: K.-K.M., "Neue Mittheilungen über Janos Lascaris und die Mediceische Bibliothek", *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 1 (1884), 333-412;
- de Nolhac: P. de N., *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris, 1887);
- Orlandi: G.O., *Aldo Manuzio editore. Dediche. Prefazioni. Note ai testi*, I-II (Milan, 1975);
- Perosa, *Cald.*: A.P., "Calderini, Domizio", dans *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, XVI (1973), p.597-605;
- Perosa, *Quint.*: A.P., "L'edizione veneta di Quintiliano", dans *Miscellanea A. Campana*, Medioevo e Umanesimo, 44-45 (Padoue, 1981), II, p. 575-610;
- Pertusi, *Gramm.*: A.P., "ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑΤΑ. Per la storia e le fonti delle prime grammatiche greche a stampa", *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 5 (1962), 321-351;
- Pertusi, *Pil.*: A.P., *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio* (Venise-Rome, 1964);
- Renouard: A.A.R., *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde ou Histoire des trois Manuce et de leurs éditions*, 3^e éd. (Paris, 1834; réimpr.anast.Bologne, 1953);
- Rizzo: S.R., *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti*, Sussidi eruditi, 26 (Rome, 1973);
- Sabbadini: R.S., *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV* (Florence, 1905; réimpr.anast. 1967);
- Schartau - Smith: B.S. - O.L.S., "Towards a Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts of the Royal Library Copenhagen", *Scriptorium*, 28 (1974), p.332-338;

- TAPA: Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association.*
Tomasini: I.Ph.T., *Bibliothecae Patavinae manuscriptae publicae et privatae* (Udine, 1639);
Valentinelli: G.V., *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum. Codices mss. latini*, I-VI (Venise, 1868-1873);
Wartelle: A.W., *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs d'Aristote et de ses commentateurs* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1963);
Zorzanello: P.Z., *Catalogo dei codici latini della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia non compresi nel catalogo di G. Valentinelli*, I-III (Venise, 1980-1985).

Emily KEARNS

PAGAN WISDOM, CHRISTIAN REVELATION:
TWO LATIN BIBLICAL PLAYS

The phenomenon of the *comoedia sacra* in early sixteenth-century Germany and the Low Countries is one which remains relatively little known, despite distinguished recent work¹. These plays, written for the most part by schoolteachers with literary leanings to provide for their charges a Christian, usually biblical, alternative to Terence and Plautus, became a sudden fashion after the appearance in 1529 of the very popular *Acolastus* of Gulielmus Gnapheus, a drama of the prodigal son, and enjoyed a decade or so of popularity on either side of the confessional divide before sectarian considerations became inescapable, in drama as elsewhere². The earlier plays show little interest in sectarian questions and almost none in polemic. *Acolastus* demonstrates this quite clearly; Gnapheus himself was a Lutheran, and while it has been shown convincingly that the particular emphasis of the play reflects from a Lutheran standpoint the *liberum arbitrium* controversy between Luther and Erasmus, the theological treatment is very restrained, subtle and unaggressive³. In contrast with Burckard Waldis, who two years previously had produced in Riga the vernacular *Parabell vam verlorn Szohn*⁴ (not only emphasising justification by faith but also launching an attack on papist hypocrisy and the religion of works), Gnapheus, while clearly

¹ Among recent general studies are H.G. Roloff, "Neulateinisches Drama", in *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte* (Berlin 1965), pp. 645-78; Jean Lebeau, *Salvator mundi: l'exemple de Joseph dans le théâtre allemand au XVI siècle* (Nieuwkoop 1977); J-M. Valentin, *Le théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de langue allemande* (Berne 1978); and the same author's "Le théâtre néo-latin catholique en Allemagne (XVI et XVII siècles): bilans et perspectives", in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Amstelodamensis* (Munich 1979), pp. 1020-30.

² See Valentin, "Le théâtre néo-latin catholique" (above), pp. 1020-1022; id, "Hieronymus Ziegler et son 'Abel Iustus' ", *Études germaniques* 23 (1968), 381-388, esp. 383-385.

³ See W.E.D. Atkinson, *Acolastus* (London, Ont. 1964), pp. 47-72.

⁴ See K. Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen*, II: *Das Reformationszeitalter* (Dresden 1886), pp. 447-453.

not wishing to compromise his allegiance, apparently deliberately avoided any appearance of polemic. The difference is easily explained in terms of the different audiences for which the two plays were intended. A play like that of *Waldis*, displaying strong affinities with the carnival tradition and published merely as a spin-off from a successful performance, was a very different matter from a play based on classical models, brimming with literary allusions and composed not for a single performance but with an eye to the republic of letters. *Comoedia sacra* was learned comedy. In his prefatory letter, Gnapheus declares that although the present age has produced masters in almost every literary genre there is as yet no Menander or Terence. The atmosphere of the preface is not one of religious controversy (the uncontroversial religious moral is saved for the epilogue) but of literary aspirations; despite the background in the schoolroom, Gnapheus is aiming to attract the attention of the European learned audience, and he can do this because he speaks their language and shares their concerns. To such an audience, what was most conspicuous in *Acolastus* was not a Lutheran message but the deeply-held humanist conviction that the classical medium is an effective one for proclaiming the unchanging Christian message.

Christian content, classical form; that is the basic formula for the *comoedia sacra* until its disappearance as a genre. But it is in the early days of its existence, as the form becomes established in the 1530's and early 1540's, that the relationship between the two is most clearly a matter of interest and concern. Viewed as pieces of an educational nature, these comedies sum up in themselves a tension inherent in Renaissance theories of education, the problem of the relationship between classical and Christian elements. An educator must of course instil a correct and elegant Latin style and a wide-ranging knowledge of the classical authors; some knowledge of Greek was becoming increasingly desirable too. But it is also and more importantly the responsibility of the teacher (the parent of the child's *ingenium*⁵) to do his part in the child's moral upbringing, and the reconciliation of these two tasks required some care. Not all classical literature was conducive to good morals, and the most obvious response to this fact was simply to regulate what was read and omit unsuitable matter⁶. More subtly,

⁵ Cf. Erasmus, *De pueris instituendis*, ASD I 2, p. 65, ll. 5-6; *Concio de puero Iesu*, LB 5, col. 606C; *Ecclesiastes*, ib., col. 1086C.

⁶ Thus Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, ASD I 2, p. 116 (LB 1, col. 521) recommends "selectas Plauti comoedias ... quae vacent obscoenitate"; cf. his preface to Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, Allen 5, p. 341, l. 131 ff.

children might be distanced from the original world of the work they were reading and from a proper estimate of the author's intent by the superimposition of the teacher's own interpretation and the treatment of the work as an illustrative part of the familiar, contemporary moral continuum. Erasmus' treatment of Virgil's second eclogue in *De ratione studii* (ASD I 2, pp. 139-40; LB I, col. 527) is a well-known example of this approach. In essence, if not in detail, this method of teaching children was much the same as the attitude many adults adopted with regard to their own reading: that classical texts could and should be quarried for good moral sentiments, the reader having the responsibility to extract and use whatever was compatible with a Christian framework⁷. At this point a *positive* connexion between the classical and the Christian begins to emerge. While it may be necessary to guard against certain features of classical literature, other ideas and motifs can actually be useful. This brings us to a third avenue of approach which supplements the other two, the selection of works with a specifically Christian orientation. Thus in the early sixteenth century the Christian authors of classical antiquity — not only the Fathers, but also the poets — received a certain amount of renewed attention. They, after all, in the Renaissance perspective, were the obvious models for the combination of classical, elegant form with Christian truth. The citation of the Christian poets of antiquity was to become a commonplace, and at least one educationalist, John Colet, prescribed their use in the school which he founded⁸. Colet's list of Christian authors ends with a modern, Baptista Mantuanus — modern authors, then (this is the fourth possibility) were as capable as ancients of supplying not only grammars and manuals, but also texts for study. From a poet who had written only a few genera-

⁷ Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, ch.2, LB 5, col. 7D-8A; Budé, *De transitu hellenismi ad christianismum*, praef. (*Opera Omnia* [Basel 1557] I, p. 131; ed. M. Lebel [Sherbrooke 1973], I-VI). This approach first crystallised as "spoiling the Egyptians" with Origen, in his letter to Gregory the thaumaturge, *P.G.* 11, col. 87-92, and received its classic formulation in Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* II 40-42 (*P.L.* 34, col. 63-66 = *CSEL* II 144-152, vol. 80, pp. 74-80); see M-M. de la Garanderie, *Christianisme et lettres profanes* (Paris 1976), pp. 106-109. The view that some literature should be altogether rejected even for adults was also held by some humanists; thus Budé, *De studio* (*Op. Omnia* I, p. 18C), typically using a classical myth; see also below on Cornelius Crocus.

⁸ Citation of Christian poets: e.g. Quintianus Stoa, *Christiana opera* (Paris 1514), f. 130 (see R. Lebègue, *La tragédie religieuse en France* [Paris 1929], p. 135); Cornelius Crocus, *Joseph* (Antwerp 1536), f. A8' (see below). Cf. J.W. Binns, "Biblical Latin poetry in Renaissance England", *Papers of the Liverpool Latin seminar* 3 (1981), 400-401; Colet: J.H. Lupton, *A life of Dean Colet* (London 1887), p. 279.

tions previously it is a small step to the schoolmaster supplying his own literary texts. But he must always bear in mind that these texts must be useful in one of two ways: "vel ad elegantiam latini sermonis vel ad pietatem" (thus Erasmus on his own *Colloquies*, ASD I 3, p. 741, l. 20; *LB* I, col. 901) — and the complete educational programme must include both.

Erasmus' summing-up of his own text-book manages to give the impression that the conjunction between learning and piety was the most natural thing in the world, and indeed such a conjunction lay very close to his own heart and to that of many of his contemporaries. But was not Erasmus frequently the first to complain that many benighted souls could not perceive the connexion? Among Erasmus' adversaries there were (in his own depiction) the 'barbarians' who distrusted all classical literature, who preferred Scotus to Origen and Jerome, and for whom the Greek text of the New Testament smelt of heresy; and there were the 'new pagans', whose exaggerated admiration of classical antiquity and Ciceronian language led them to falsify Christian revelation. The latter error is not castigated so frequently in Erasmus' writings as the former, but it is of course the main theme of the *Ciceronianus* (1525). Because of its relevance to the problem of writing *comoedia sacra* I quote in full one well-known passage which reformulates the articles of Christian faith in 'Ciceronian' Latin:

Optimi maximique Iovis interpres ac filius, servator, rex, iuxta vatum responsa ex olympo devolavit in terras et hominis assumpta figura sese pro salute reipublicae sponte devovit diis manibus, atque ita concionem sive civitatem sive rempublicam suam asseruit in libertatem, ac Iovis optimi maximi vibratum in nostra capita fulmen restinxit, nosque cum illo redegit in gratiam, ut persuasionis munificentia ad innocentiam reparati, et a sycophantae dominatu manumissi cooptemur in civitatem et in reipublicae societate perseverantes, quum fata nos evocarint ex hac vita in divûm consortio rerum summa potiamur.
(ASD I 2, pp. 641-42)

In this style of writing, the medium cannot but become the message, while the true message of Christianity has vanished. The absurdity which Erasmus here shows up is not entirely a foible of a minority of eccentrics, but expresses a genuine and pressing problem facing any learned writer of the time. Certainly it faced the writers of the *comoedia sacra*, for whom the topos of the conflict between the demands of religion and those of classical rules gave expression to a real dilemma.

Apologising for the 'nimis tragicae exclamationes' in *Acolastus*, which contravene the precepts of Horace (*Ars Poetica* 89), Gnapheus writes that he chose this expedient rather than that of altering the story: "quod crimen levius esse duxi quam a sensu et rei dignitate recedere: malui enim pietatis respectui quam literaturae decoro alicubi servire"⁹.

More broadly, Johannes Sapidus (Witz), in the prologue of *Anabion* (1539) repudiates a slavish imitation of classical precepts on the grounds that the world has changed:

nam aetate nostra, prisco ab isto tempore
rerum alia facies, ordo et institutio;
alius modus vitae, alius est cultus dei
alia hominum communicatio invicem
non publici solum sed et domestici:
unde et alia ratione scribendi est opus.

To modern readers the 'alia ratio' of most of these works perhaps does not go far enough; with a few exceptions (*Acolastus* itself being one) they seem stilted compositions, inhibited from originality and forcefulness by their classical straitjacket. I cannot discuss in detail here the question of their literary merits, or lack of them; it will suffice to point out that the writers themselves had a real theoretical difficulty to cope with — and this was not the only one. Under which circumstances was it permissible to use the form of comedy to treat sacred matters? Sapidus' prologue lists a whole string of people who may object to his play, among whom are not only those who censure his departures from the classical norms, and those who dislike sacred subjects *per se*, but those who think that comedy is an altogether unsuitable vehicle for religious material. Several strands are discernible in this objection, but predominant is surely the belief of Erasmus' 'barbarians' that pagan forms are unworthy of the attention of a Christian. This was an attitude which was to give way under the pressure of custom and of passing time; already one of Sapidus' lines of defence is that by now the *comoedia sacra* has become a genre in its own right. In any case exaggeration of the strength and vehemence of the opposition is a typical humanist trait. But just as the earliest experimenters in the genre had to work out how far their subject-matter imposed a divergence from classical models, so too they had to debate inwardly the relationship between pagan and Christian

⁹ Al' in the first edition (Antwerp: Dumaëus, 1529).

thought. In this of course the genre posed exactly the same questions as many other literary endeavours of the day.

Given these difficulties, it is perhaps not surprising that the methodological problem in the relationship between Christian and pagan elements, both in language and thought, should actually become a part of the subject-matter in several plays. Although New Testament subjects, apart from parables, were avoided by the majority of the earlier writers (could it be decorous to bring Christ onto the stage, played by a schoolboy?¹⁰) the Old Testament still provided plenty of material for pagan-Christian confrontation, if one regarded the Old Testament patriarchs as honorary Christians and equated the false gods of the neighbours of the early Jews with those of classical paganism. Among the earlier comedies were two which took as their subject such confrontations: the story of the Moabite woman Ruth who chose to make Israel her own country was dramatised by the young Jacobus Zovitius in 1533, and two years later the more distinguished Cornelius Crocus took as his subject the sufferings of Joseph among the Egyptians. Both these authors, in very different ways, use their subject-matter to deal with the relationship between pagan philosophy and true faith, and leave us with the conclusion that there can be no conflict.



In 1533 the first edition of *Ruth* was published by Michael Hillen in Antwerp (NK 4106)¹¹. Its author, Jacobus Zovitius, was an assistant schoolmaster at Hoogstraten and aged just twenty-one at the time, as he tells us in the dedicatory letter to one of his two later plays, *Ovis Perdita* (Antwerp 1539). We learn further from this letter that *Ruth* had not been altogether well received, and the author admits that there was in it "luxuriem plus satis iuvenilem ... nimium", although he continues, rather engagingly, with the assertion that at least its author will always be fond of it. Contemporaries, however, had a point: *Ruth* is not a well-structured play, and it signally fails in one of its main moral aims, that

¹⁰ So Macropedius in the prologue of *Lazarus mendicus* (Utrecht 1541), ff. A2^v-3^r; see Th.W. Best, *Macropedius* (New York 1972), p. 14, p. 153.

¹¹ Apparently the only edition, apart from its inclusion in Oporinus' collection of *Dramata Sacra* (1547). The play's relative lack of popularity is also suggested by its failure to appear in the prologue of Birck's *Susanna*, which alludes to *Acolastus*, *Christus Xylonicus* (Barthélémy) and *Joseph* as predecessors.

of demonstrating the miserable end which awaits the wicked, while in its depictions of low life and its sexual frankness it goes beyond Erasmus' *Colloquies*, another book originally intended for school use which went too far for some. The biblical Book of Ruth is far from an obvious source for a play containing such material, and Zovitius has had to embroider considerably on his model in order to create his low characters, who, he claims following Donatus, are useful as a negative paradigm; they illustrate what must be avoided. Their sub-plot is connected only very loosely with the story of Ruth, Noemi and Boos, and one suspects that a major motive in their introduction was to provide parts for a larger number of boys. Some of their scenes are in fact humorous enough, and the two chief villains, Attabas and Nume-nius, whose mutual help is a parody of that of Ruth and Noemi, in the end emerge almost as sympathetic characters — unfortunately for the moral content of the play. This pair of villains is clearly modelled on the less sympathetic pair Pantolabus and Pamphagus in *Acolastus*, the only work which Zovitius mentions in his preface as a predecessor; this is not his only debt to Gnapheus, whom he lists together with Plautus and Terence and whose challenge he claims to have picked up in the attempt to write modern comedy. Where he has not followed Gnapheus is in his choice of the type of biblical story. The Prodigal Son was not a choice which can have caused Gnapheus much agonised indecision, even apart from the relevance of his version to the *liberum arbitrium* dispute. On the one hand it was a well-established subject for popular, vernacular drama; on the other, the depiction of a father and a dissolute son would fit very well (with a changed moral emphasis) into the world of Plautus and Terence. Moreover, the subject had a direct, emotional appeal shared with many of the parables; yet as an attempt to follow this lead Zovitius chose not another parable such as that of the good Samaritan, or of Dives and Lazarus, both used shortly afterwards¹², but a story which though simple in itself has little 'comic' potential apart from the happy ending, and which relies for its Roman form on an invented sub-plot¹³. What was the appeal of the story of Ruth the Moabite?

Certainly little of the play's interest lies in Ruth's noble resignation of

¹² Petrus Papeus, *Comoedia de Samaritano* (Antwerp 1539); Georgius Macropedius, *Lazarus mendicus* (Utrecht 1541).

¹³ That comedy is distinguished from tragedy by (among other things) its happy ending was stated by "Donatus" (4.2) and as yet challenged by few: see Lebeau, *Salvator mundi* (above, note 1), pp. 116-122.

life with her own people, her loyalty to her mother-in-law, or her poignant pose 'standing amid the alien corn', the aspects which have interested more recent writers. The moving and memorable scene in the Book of Ruth where Ruth makes her decision to follow Naomi (1.7-17) receives in Zovitius' treatment (2.4) a certain amount of emphasis, but its position in the play is by no means pivotal, and it is quite far removed in treatment from its biblical original. In comparison with act 5 sc. 4 (= Book of Ruth 4.1-12), the scene of Boos' undertaking to marry Ruth, there are very few verbal reminiscences of the model, and the whole tone of the episode has been altered. Instead of a scene of touching personal loyalty and great personal sacrifice we have the depiction of a Ruth already resolute, whose determination seems to spring from her philosophical convictions, and who can even rebuke her sister-in-law Orpha for not making the same decision. The most obvious dramatic treatment of the story, the presentation of a conflict within Ruth herself, is completely avoided. As a realistic or interesting character, Ruth falls flat; in this scene and elsewhere, she is primarily a vehicle of ideas and an example to be followed. Such conflict as there is is external, between Ruth and less perfect characters. Much in this treatment is scarcely unexpected, given the background of non-dramatic interpretations of the figure of Ruth. From the earliest times, a large part of the story's significance lay in the adoption of a despised foreigner into Israel and her appearance as an ancestor of David. Christian treatments added to this not only her ancestry of Christ himself *secundum carnem*, but her significance for the adoption of gentile Christians among the people of God. From this it was a short and natural step to her standard typological meaning as the *ecclesia de gentibus*¹⁴. Such symbolic interpretations were quite as present in the minds of Zovitius and no doubt his audience as the picture of Ruth the individual heroine and behaviour model.

But Zovitius gives a new twist to this presentation of Ruth the faithful gentile. To examine his ideas, we may first turn to the printed volume's prefatory material. Immediately preceding the dedicatory letter are two introductory poems praising the work and expounding the intent and

¹⁴ Ruth is already significant in a Christian context at Mt.1.5, where she is one of the very few women mentioned in the genealogy of Christ. Ambrose expands this theme in his Commentary on Luke, 3.30-4 (*CSEL* 32 (4), pp. 120-4) and the equation of Ruth with the *ecclesia de gentibus* is clearly standard by the time of Isidore (*P.L.* 83, col. 112) and Rabanus Maurus (*P.L.* 108, col. 1202).

some of the themes. The second poem, by the headmaster of the school at Hoogstraten, Joannes Quoyman, praises Ruth's character; she is a much better heroine and a more useful model than the women in Plautus and Terence, as in contrast with them she teaches *mores pudicos*. This point does not need labouring; in the classical tradition it was a commonplace that comedy was 'useful', and Ruth's virtues of devotion, receptivity to religious truth, self-restraint and cheerful acceptance of ill-fortune were not exclusively feminine desiderata, but could be contemplated with profit by the boys for whom the play was first intended, as well as by the learned public. The first poem, by Martinus Nigellus, one of Zovitius' pupils, strikes a different note. Nigellus exhorts youth to seek the good, and says that the play will help them in this; but he goes on to say that it is "Lydius ... lapis (cf. *Adagia* 1.5.87) mystis Oenotriae Pallados" and concludes: "Ergo si / venaris Sophiam Socraticam, huc ades." The sentiment, no less than the plethora of learned allusions and grecisms, announces that this is a learned work and will contain much from the pagan philosophers. The precise allusion to the philosophy of Socrates becomes clearer from Zovitius' own dedicatory letter, addressed to Guilielmus Zagarus (Zacharius) of Zierikzee. In praising philosophy, the author mentions especially Socratic philosophy, because it is the kind most useful to the human race, and in particular to the schoolmaster's young charge. Comedy is a suitable vehicle for this type of practical philosophy, since in Cicero's words comedy is "vitae imitatio, consuetudinis speculum, veritatis imago" (*Hortensius* fr. 10 Grilli; these words were a commonplace from their quotation in Donatus, 5.1, and they were quoted also in the preface to *Acolastus*). Socratic philosophy, then, is a practical, ethical philosophy, a guide to right living, which could be opposed to the subtle speculations of the scholastics almost as Plato and Xenophon had opposed their view of Socrates' interests to the cosmological theories of the Pre-Socratics¹⁵. The same theme appears in Crocus' long preface to his *Joseph*. Crocus hopes that the life of Joseph will be a useful example to Christian youth and that the play will provide for

¹⁵ Philosophy, in the shape of "Sophia virgo", had already been put at least upon a notional stage, probably in 1511, by Remaclus Arduenna in his prose comedy *Palamedes* (see J. IJsewijn and D.F. Thomson, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 24 (1975) 148-149) and this too could have influenced Zovitius, whose Ruth, although apparently a real rather than an allegorical character, has much in common with Sophia. Nonetheless, Zovitius has produced a more complex figure; like Sophia, Ruth is a source of salutary precepts, but she is also a *personal* model whose arrival at true religion is the goal of the play, an important difference given the subtext of the "salvation of the pagans" question.

them a step towards ethical philosophy “quam Socrates de coelo in terram, D. Erasmus Roterodamus pridem in sermones et colloquia, quibusdam exceptis, deduxit” (A7'). I shall return to Crocus later; let us note here that the more precise reference to ‘philosophy brought to earth’ makes it clear that both Crocus and Zovitius have in mind the well-known passage from the *Tusculans* (V 10) where Cicero attributes precisely this achievement to Socrates. This judgement was quoted by Erasmus himself in his preface to the *Tusculans* (1523; Allen 1390); Erasmus extends the image to cover Cicero’s own work, claiming that the Roman writer put philosophy on the stage (*in proscaenium*). I shall argue that Zovitius knew this preface, and it is likely that Crocus also, a well-read man, had come across the *Tusculans* in this edition: is it too fanciful to suppose that Erasmus’ metaphor may have had some significance in the presentation of philosophy on a real stage¹⁶? Three years later Erasmus again used the topos, in his letter defending the *Colloquies* and published with them (*De colloquiorum utilitate*, ASD I 3, p. 746). This time he extended it to include his own work in the *Colloquies*: “ego philosophiam etiam in lusus, confabulationes et computationes deduxi.” Crocus was a great admirer of Erasmus, and we shall see other reasons to suppose that he knew at least the second passage. Although Zovitius makes no specific reference to Erasmus in the preface, it is clear from the play that he was an avid if somewhat indiscriminate reader of the *Adagia*. A significant reference to this work occurs already in the play’s prologue (similar to the prefatory material in that it informs readers and also audience of the author’s intentions) where Ruth is said to be a Silenus (cf. *Adagia* 3.3.1). This turns out to be a lead-in to a somewhat obscure joke. But the reference to one of Erasmus’ most famous essays, and again to Socrates (for it was he who was the original Silenus, Plato *Symposium* 215 A-B) places us in a world where outward appearances may mask very different realities, and where pagan and Christian truth may coincide: Christ, no less than Socrates, is a Silenus¹⁷.

Let us now examine in detail the presentation of the character Ruth. When the play opens, the two sons of the Jewess Noemi, Maalio and Chloelion, have died, leaving Moabite widows, Ruth and Orpha, but no children. A famine in Israel had originally brought Noemi and her sisters to Moab, but now, on hearing that it has ceased, she decides to

¹⁶ On the background to this high estimation of Socrates, see pp. 229-230 and note 22.

¹⁷ *Adagia* 3.3.1, *LB* 2, col. 771D-772D.

return to her own country. Act 1 sc. 1 brings on Noemi, old and poor, to set the scene thus; sc. 2 introduces her contrasting daughters-in-law, setting the pattern for their later confrontation at 2.4. In the earlier scene, Orpha laments her dead husband in extravagant terms. When Ruth rebukes her for her excessive grief, her thoughts turn at once to her curtailed social life as a widow. The virtuous Ruth does not appreciate such frivolities; although she felt a personal love for her husband, what she misses most about him is his exposition of the Jewish religion:

sic me viri
demortui astrinxit sibi gratissimus
amor. Viri mortem aequius ferrem aedepol
colloquia si minime negarentur mihi ...
quam casta et, heu, quam sancta erant ...

(A8^{r-v})

Both women, it turns out, had been attracted by their husband's religion, and both had been eager to accompany them to their homeland when the famine was over. In the second part of the scene, Noemi summons her daughters-in-law and tells them of her plan. Both attempt to dissuade her from attempting such a long and arduous journey, but characteristically it is Ruth who uses moral arguments; that it is better to bear adversity cheerfully, that poverty does not detract from true nobility, and so on. She also quotes a prophecy which her husband used to refer to, that the widow may yet have more children than she whose husband is still alive; perhaps she and Orpha may yet have children "ex te aut tuis". Noemi is unconvinced, and seeing this both Ruth and Orpha decide to go with her.

These first two scenes, without a great deal of subtlety, establish Ruth's character as one of patience, intelligence and self-restraint. Not only is she clearly a stronger character than the shallow and emotional Orpha, but she is also meant to be morally superior to Noemi, who is a more attractive character than Orpha, but whose self-pity is clearly presented for our disapproval. What is striking is the terms in which Ruth's virtues are presented: her speech to Noemi is that of a pagan philosopher. Noemi is not poor, because fortune has only taken back her own. She is not lacking in nobility, because true nobility depends on virtue¹⁸. In case we miss the point, it is underlined by Orpha in somewhat mocking words:

¹⁸ Cf. for instance Juvenal 8.20; for parallels see E.F. Courtney, *A commentary on the Satires of Juvenal* (London 1980), pp. 381-382.

arbitraris hanc
 nostra ex domo nobis adesse mater? haec
 aut ex Stoa aut Academia platonica
 prodit, quae ita in numerato habet philosophiae
 dogmata

(B1^{r-v})

Ruth, then, is the embodiment of 'sophia socratica', the practical ethical wisdom of the ancients — at least, of the Academy and the Stoa. Her *mores pudici* are conjoined with wisdom, and we are invited to see the conjunction as natural and to imitate both aspects, advice perhaps particularly suitable for schoolboys, given the standard *topos* of the double aim of education. The continuation of Ruth's speech to Noemi turns from philosophy to revelation with its reference to the prophecy of Isaiah 54:1; far from despising such irrational and seemingly nonsensical predictions, this philosopher is receptive to the word of God expressed through the Jews. To some extent Orpha had shared her sister-in-law's eagerness to embrace the religion of their husbands, but she lacks Ruth's wholeheartedness. To Ruth, his religion was the most valuable thing about her husband. Her summary of his teaching is as follows:

dicere solet
 unum suos colere Deum, quique omnia
 creaverat. Leges adhaec dederat suis
 autographas ...
 eas si quipiam
 servaverint, olympico fruerentur hi
 elysio ...
 si sed aliquis peccasset in leges datas
 perpetuus illi poena tartarus foret.

(A8^v)

This, then, for Zovitius represents the essentials of true religion for those without knowledge of Christ — pagans and Jews alike. It is strikingly close to another view of those essentials: "Quid si ethnicus tantum hoc credat, Deum quem persuasum habet esse omnipotentem, sapientissimum et optimum, aliqua ratione subventurum bonis et ulturum malos, quae ipsi videatur quam maxime accommodata?" In these words Erasmus sums up Cicero's religious beliefs in the preface to his edition of the *Tusculans* (Allen 1390, l. 73ff), the same piece in which we have seen used Cicero's own *topos* of 'philosophy brought to earth'. Erasmus' words would cover Plato's Socrates as well as Cicero, for a strong belief in rewards and punishments after death is attributed to him in that most

popular of dialogues, the *Phaedo* (107C-108C, 113D-114E). Erasmus argues that even among the Jews very few understood the trinitarian God before the birth of Christ; for a gentile, still less might suffice for salvation. The discussion relates to the potent question of the salvation of the pagans, but from its context in the preface it is obvious that this issue is closely connected with the reader's reactions to Cicero; the idea that Cicero has been saved, to which Erasmus inclines, is intended to encourage the reader and exhort him to pay the fullest attention to the work which follows. In just such a way Zovitius, who had clearly read this preface, uses Ruth's belief in these essentials as a sort of *captatio* to encourage his audience to accept her ethical philosophy.

A further point along these lines is made with Ruth's next appearance, the scene of the parting of the ways already mentioned (2.4). But before we examine her words in this scene, we should follow the order of the play itself and look at the intervening action, which introduces Attabas and Numenius, the villains, along with Boos and his slave Eudulus. The scene now shifts to Judaea, or nearby, although we do not at first realise this, and the shift of scene (a device criticised by Crocus, although used earlier by Gnapheus) is accompanied by an awkward shift of subject-matter. The relevance of the misfortunes of Numenius, a sort of unrepentant Acolastus, and his evil plotting together with Attabas, is quite unclear until the end of the scene. Here Numenius assures Attabas that they will be quite safe from any punishment for their misdeeds:

quam sit superstitiosus iste non nosti
 populus. Hic unum credere in Deum se inquit,
 qui vult reservetur sibi in malos poena.
 Potius enim, credito, manus in ignem quam in
 latrunculum aut furem inicerent.

(B4^{r-v})

Attabas and Numenius are presumably Greeks: they are "longe a patria" (B4^v: is there some irony here?) and they talk freely of Venus, Bacchus, Ceres and Mars¹⁹. Unlike Ruth, they are unimpressed with the Jewish religion, which they regard as superstition and benefit from only to the extent that they hope to avoid punishment. This unresponsiveness

¹⁹ It is true that Zovitius allows the Jewish Noemi to exclaim in comic fashion "Pro summe Iuppiter" (1.1), but Attabas and Numenius are much more persistent in their reference to pagan gods. See pp. 226-27. Irony possible, because Attabas and Numenius have no idea how very far they are from their true, heavenly *patria*: see below, p. 226.

continues in 2,3 with Attabas' scornful reaction to Boos' thanksgiving for the harvest:

illud vide silicernium, beneficium
Cereris, suo asscribit Deo.

(B6')

In the prefatory letter, Zovitius tells us that he has depicted the lives of gamblers and sexual wantons so that his pupils will be deterred from following their example (A4'). The unbelief of these characters is a fitting complement to their lack of moral principles, and corresponds also to their distorted treatment of philosophy. (In his cups, Numenius says to Attabas:

sed quod sors
fert, animo id, Attaba, feramus aequo. In re
enim mala iuvat animus bonus multum.

(3.2, C3')

Fine sentiments, used in all seriousness by Crocus' Joseph, but these *mala* are entirely self-imposed, the result of Attabas' immorality.) The implications of all this, of course, go beyond the 'salvation of the pagans' controversy. The same moral distinction may apply among Christians as among pagans; Zovitius is warning his pupils that if they become hardened in sin they risk hardening their hearts to God's word.

2.4 opens with the women on their journey. Again it is Ruth who is dominant over both Orpha and Noemi. Again she corrects Noemi with a philosophical commonplace: "mater, solum omne patria / est forti, ut aequor piscibus". The wording here is closest to that of Ovid (*Fasti* 1.493), but the sentiment was already a topos in the late fifth century BC. However, later antiquity associated the idea particularly with Socrates; in Cicero and in Plutarch. (*Mor.* 600E) he is the exemplar of the brave or wise man for whom every country is his own, because he claimed to be 'a citizen of the world'. That this was Zovitius' primary connexion is strongly suggested by the appearance of the anecdote in Cic. *Tusc.* V 108 — the same book in which, programmatically, Socrates is given the credit for 'calling philosophy down from the heavens'. So Ruth's words are another example of strictly Socratic wisdom (as mediated by Cicero), and on the ethical plane it is Ruth we must approve, as opposed to the over-excited Noemi, whose unhappiness is due to her own reactions to her misfortunes (cf. *Tusc.* V 15-16). But the return to the homeland is more than a sentimental longing for a land no

more one's own than any other; the journey to Judaea has already been treated in the closest connexion with the Jewish faith, and so it has the symbolic value of the arrival at true faith, and we are meant perhaps to think of the heavenly *patria* to which we should hasten ('Ruth' was glossed as 'festinans', among other interpretations, by Jerome, *de nom. hebr.* 51 [CC(SL) 72, p. 102; P.L. 23, col. 811]). Such a clash between literal/dramatic and symbolic significances is necessarily a prominent feature of *comoedia sacra*, but in this case it is resolved on the level of the literal action: the philosopher Ruth must after all accept the decision of the emotional, uncontrolled Noemi to return to Judaea, as she had hoped to do during the lifetime of her husband. Noemi attempts to prevent her and Orpha from following, saying that they will be called apostates by their own people. Ruth's reply is not now classical philosophy, but something she has learned from her husband:

iam enim
 si vera fas sit eloqui, re apostatae
 sumus, cum enim sint hi dei — si dii tamen
 sint nominandi scilicet — manuum hominum
 opuscula, insuper os habentes nec loqui
 posse, et oculos nec cernere, atque aures neque
 audire: quid magis sumus quam apostatae
 hos si deos coluerimus?

(B6^v-7^r)

The Moabites are apostates already, because they reject the true God known to the philosophers through the sole exercise of reason; this is an important point in Zovitius' thought. The words he uses are of course echoes of the psalms (*Vulg. pss.* 113.4-7, 134.15-17), not of anything in the book of Ruth, where the issue of gods is a neutral adjunct to that of race and family: "Populus tuus populus meus, et Deus tuus Deus meus" (1.16). The theme is lightly introduced at the beginning of the scene, where Noemi speaks of 'your Mercury', 'your Ladas, Dolon and Hercules' making it clear that the Moabite religion is to be equated with that of classical paganism, and Ruth to be regarded as a product of the Graeco-Roman world of Socrates and Cicero. The philosophy of these pagans is admirable, but their gods, to whom many of them remain attached, are the work of men's hands. Orpha, for all her professions of faith in Judaism, has never really abandoned these gods: where Ruth speaks of *Deus*, she swears emphatically "ita me omnes oderint / dii" (B7^v). Yet it is another issue which finally decides her to return; Noemi begs her to return so that she may have a permanent grave in her own

country²⁰. This point appears in the Book of Ruth in a slightly different context (1.17), but Zovitius is of course innovating in giving it such central importance, and we are justified in seeing such innovation as significant. Zovitius' Ruth, like the Ruth of the Bible, will follow Noemi to death if need be:

sequererne ego? ne unum quidem latum pedem abs
te dimovebor, quin futura sum comes
tibi vel ad imos, aedepol, manes.

(B7')

— while Orpha opts for a death among her own people. Yet it is Ruth in the end who goes to life and resurrection, for by her marriage to Boos (in 5.4) she will 'raise up the dead man's name' in producing children — a name "sepultum quod Deus sane noluit" — and she will of course become the ancestor of Christ. Orpha made the cowardly decision, by her interest in the continuity of family graves refusing to 'let the dead bury their dead' (Mt 8:22); Ruth, in facing death in a foreign country, went to new life, for 'he who would lose his life will save it' (Mt 10:39, Mk 8:35, Lk 9:24).

It is these two scenes (1.2, 2.4) which really establish Ruth as the perfect example of the good pagan, schooled in Socratic wisdom. Further appearances of the character are more concerned with advancing the plot, and the twin themes of Ruth the philosopher and of true religion are repeated just so much as is necessary to keep them in our mind. In 4.2, when Noemi's fortunes seem to be no better in Judaea than they were in Moab, Ruth retains the role of philosophical consoler; her references to "fortunae inconstantia" now give her philosophy something of a Stoic colouring, not inappropriate to the *Tusculans*²¹. Noemi is as much the un-Stoic woman of emotion as ever, yet her espousal of true religion keeps her from fatal error: she would attempt suicide, she says,

²⁰ This appears to be the sense of the lines:

consultius
est vos redire in genus vestrum fere
nullum sepultum semper optatis quod et
benestabile aeternumque forsitan foret (B7')

which can scarcely be construed or scanned as they stand. Professor IJsewijn suggests reading ... in genus vestrum, <qui> fere ... which is an improvement.

²¹ Cf. *Tusc.* V 13.

si hominis nihil superesse post mortem, citra
putidum cadaver crederem

(C7^{r-v})

— reminding us of that crucial recognition of the one God who rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked. The next scene to present the two women together, 4.6, deals with Ruth's decision to gain them a livelihood by gleaning in Boos' fields, and perhaps represents an advance on purely pagan philosophy. Here, it is true, there are a number of Virgilian references: with a hint at the story's outcome, Noemi says:

si huic Maalion
vel Chloelion parvulus in aula luderet
nil aegritudinis esset amplius

(D4^r, cf. *Aen.* IV 328-30)

and Ruth again counsels patience, because "dabit Deus huic quoque / finem". (D4^v, cf. *Aen.* I 199). And she ends with a straight quotation from Publilius Syrus (C 12): "cuivis dolori remedium patientia". But this pagan wisdom is supported by similar advice from a different source:

nimum es enim
solicita de victu. Deo relinquo hanc
curam; ipse enim qui cuncta pascit, non sinet
suos fame extrema perire.

(D4^r)

In Ruth's view of Noemi there is a reminiscence of Martha (*sollicita es*, Luke 10:41) but far more, of course, her words recall Jesus' advice to trust in God, who feeds the birds and the lilies (Mt 6:26-30, Lk 12:24-30). Ruth, then, is not only a good and wise philosopher, but like Crocus' Joseph (below) a model of 'evangelical perfection before the gospel'. The gospel words do not seem incongruous in the Moabite woman's mouth because they are entirely compatible with the (carefully selected) pagan wisdom which we have learned to associate with her.

The remainder of the play shows the failure of the plot of Attabas and Numenius against Boos, and their departure for a place where everything is permitted, followed by Boos' decision to marry Ruth and beget children to raise up the name of her dead husband. Noemi is as excessive in her rejoicing as she was in her grief ("fac serves modum, nimia hercule es" says Thaltymbius (*sic*) the messenger), but in this scene (5.5), for the first time, it is she who teaches Ruth. Of God she says:

filia, omni laude is est
 superior, absit ut arbitreris laudibus
 te posse respondere munificentiae
 illius.

(E4')

The issue is not in doubt; a child will result, and Noemi will be its grandmother and nurse. There is no overt reference to the child's descendants, but the audience will realise the significance of the union of Ruth and Boos in the ancestry of Christ, and the word *evangelium* to describe the news is surely not accidental. But for the present, both women have their reward. Thus the thesis of that crucially important book, *Tusculans* V, that "ad beate vivendum satis posse virtutem" (associated with Socrates at V 47) has been demonstrated; Ruth remains happy throughout the play because of her philosophical virtue, but in the end happiness comes even to the unphilosophical though faithful Noemi. The Christian, then, can go further than the philosopher, because the demonstration also vindicates the all-powerful God in whom Ruth is drawn to trust and whose dispensation is the ultimate guarantee of the Ciceronian proposition.

To sum up, then, Zovitius has the weight of tradition behind him in choosing to lay the story's emphasis on the adoption of Ruth as an Israelite, despite her foreign status. To Christians she had long symbolised the gentiles who had been saved by adopting Christianity, and Zovitius was merely following this view of the story's essentials in laying a particular stress on the religious aspect of Ruth's choice — in the biblical account only one aspect of a social question. Where he has innovated is in making Ruth a philosopher. This philosophy, as we have seen, is the ethical philosophy of the ancients, viewed as a more or less consistent system of teaching embodied in the figure of Socrates. Zovitius' Socrates is the figure presented by Cicero in the *Tusculans*, especially book V, to which we have seen numerous allusions in *Ruth* and its prefatory material; and as Cicero stands to Socrates, so is Erasmus to Cicero himself in his preface to that work. Erasmus' commendation of Cicero there is complemented by his praise of Socrates, alongside Cato, Cicero and Plutarch, in the colloquy *Convivium Religiosum* (ASD I 3, pp. 231-266). There, the discussion of the good, almost divine elements in the writings of the pagan culminates in the famous desire of one of the characters to exclaim "Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis". For Erasmus, Socrates and Cicero (symmetrically, one Greek, the other Roman)

typify the ability of the good, wise pagan to be saved by philosophy. Through philosophy they have already come very close to Christ: "Fortasse latius se fundit spiritus Christi quam nos interpretamur, et multi sunt in consortio sanctorum qui non sunt apud nos in catalogo". (*ASD* I 3, p. 251). This conclusion, so important to Erasmus, was of course not without its foreshadowings in New Testament and patristic thought. Already Paul at Athens is presented telling his pagan audience that they worship what they do not know (Acts 17, esp. 23, 27-30). For the development of this line of thought, the *locus classicus* is Justin's *Second Apology*, especially chapters 10 and 13. Justin explained the noble sentiments and actions of the pagans as due to their partial perception of the divine *logos* (that is, of course, Christ) which is diffused throughout the universe and is generative (*spermatikos*). Among the pagans, he instances as support particularly Socrates, in whose beliefs and death he sees a parallel to the Christians and their persecution, and concedes that Socrates had a partial knowledge of Christ; this conclusion is necessitated by the major premise and evidenced, Justin implies, by the phenomenon of his *daimon*.

It is Justin, then — known to the Renaissance public largely through the work of Pico della Mirandola — who is the ultimate source of the later Christian interest in Socrates, particularly strong in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries²². But Justin's bold view of Christ's partial self-revelation to the pagans found echoes in many other writers. Most germane to our subject, perhaps, is the related view that such revelations come about in a dispensation by which men of good will must necessarily recognise the truth. Thus Lactantius ('the Christian Cicero' who none the less disapproved of pagan philosophers): "Veritatis ipsius tanta vis est ut nemo possit esse tam caecus qui non videat ingerentem se oculis divinam claritatem" (*De div. inst.* 1.5.2, *CSEL* 19 p. 13). In patristic thought the chief evidence for such a view is precisely those confused half-revelations experienced by Hermes Trismegistus and the Sibyls, among others, and even the lack of knowledge but ardent desire for it evinced by poets and philosophers (*ib.* 4.6, pp. 286-91). This optimistic approach of course represents only one side of the patristic coin; if one possible consequence of this diffusion of the truth is the pagans' perception of it and consequent salvation, another view, to

²² On the eagerness of the Italian humanists to make of Socrates a Christian, see R. Marcel, " 'Saint' Socrate, patron de l'humanisme", *Revue internat. de philosophie* 5 (1951) 135-143. Cf. also Ch. Béné, *Érasme et saint Augustin* (Geneva 1969), pp. 349-350.

which Lactantius more inclines, is that the pagans were all the more blameworthy for not embracing the truth completely. This morose opinion did not attract many among sixteenth-century humanists, who preferred to make a distinction between the good and wise pagan and the ignoble, superstitious throng. Thus Zovitius makes the strongest possible distinction between his pagan heroine Ruth and the other pagans Orpha, Attabas, Numenius and the rest, all of whom were presented with the same facts as Ruth but for one reason or another refused to make the saving commitment. As we have seen, sixteenth-century writers were aware of the need for a careful discrimination in the approach to ancient culture and literature. But the attraction of the Justin-based theory for lovers of classical literature was none the less obvious, and it is this complex of ideas which Zovitius has chosen to represent in *Ruth*. Ruth's philosophy has been for her a kind of *praeparatio evangelica*, so that when the time comes she will accept the true religion which she has seen foreshadowed in Ciceronian terms. Would not Socrates and Cicero have done the same? Many more famous names than Zovitius had thought so, concluding that the best of pagan philosophy will naturally lead to Christ. At the same time, Zovitius wants us to measure ourselves against his model. Are we more like Ruth, or more like Attabas and Numenius? If a Moabite, a gentile, can see the truth and receive salvation, how much more reprehensible it is for us, who have received the fullness of Christian revelation, to turn away from it and serve the powers of this world.

* * *

The story of Ruth was perhaps a natural choice for one who wished his comedy to reflect the contemporary interest in the salvation of the pagans and the rightful place of classical literature in Christian education and society. The experiences of Joseph among the Egyptians were less so. True, Genesis 39-41 present another Jewish-foreign encounter, but it is the hero, Joseph, who is the Jew, and there are few grounds for optimism about the salvation of Potiphar's wife or of Pharaoh. Reasons for the popularity of the subject were many; among them were the moral exemplum of Joseph's behaviour before Potiphar and its convenient closeness to the classical story of Hippolytus; also the traditional view of Joseph as a type of Christ²³. Nevertheless, for Cornelius Crocus,

²³ See Lebeau, *Salvator mundi* (above, n. 1).

author of the first Latin Joseph-drama, the theme of pagan wisdom was an important one in the play, and it is this aspect of the drama which I intend to explore in what follows²⁴.

The play's orientation is already suggested by the title-page of the first edition (Antwerp: Steels, 1536, NK 2728), which contains the motto "abstine sus, non tibi spiro", an allusion to the herb marjoram, which though sweet is hated by pigs (Aulus Gellius, praef. 19; Erasmus, *Adagia* 1.1.38). The learned poet, then, warns any among his potential audience who do not love good letters to leave his piece alone. Yet it goes further than this, for the exact form of the motto occurs not in any classical source, but in a work which we have already mentioned in connexion with Zovitius — Erasmus' colloquy *Convivium religiosum*. There the marjoram which gives this warning stands as a symbol for the wisdom and piety of the characters in the dialogue. By choosing this motto, Crocus aligns himself with Erasmus and especially the views expressed in this colloquy, including, we may suppose, the enthusiasm for the best of the pagan writers. The "pigs" who will not appreciate his work will be opposed not only to good letters but to piety — a typically Erasmian conjunction.

This motto is the first of three allusions to the *Colloquies* in the prefatory material. Whereas to Zovitius, Erasmus, whom he never mentions directly, seems to have been known only by his works, Crocus had had some personal contact with him, as is shown by the surviving letter Allen 2354 (dated July 1530; cf. 2260.81). Further, Crocus was friendly with Erasmus' assistant Nicolaus Cannius, whom in the preface to *Joseph* he commends; Cannius also appears in the colloquy *Cyclops* (ASD I 3, pp. 603-609). The friendship between Erasmus and Crocus was not close — indeed it is likely that the two men never met — but from Crocus' letter it seems that Erasmus had taken an encouraging interest in the younger man's literary enterprises, which were of a type close to his own in their combined aim of purifying language and purifying religion. Later, Crocus was the author of some *Colloquiorum puerilium formulae* (Cologne: Gymnicus, 1540), not, as has sometimes been thought, because he suspected the orthodoxy of Erasmus' work, for which the preface shows a great admiration²⁵, but because he thought

²⁴ On Crocus, see A.J. Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus* (Nijmegen - Utrecht 1963).

²⁵ On Crocus and Erasmus, see Kölker (above), pp. 181-185.

that his own colloquies were “fortasse ... pueris paulo accommodatiora” (A2^r) — whether for reasons of language or of subject matter. He would not have been alone in the view that Erasmus had gone too far for school use in the depiction of vice²⁶. This opinion is made clearer in the second reference in the Joseph volume to the *Colloquies*, this time part of the prefatory letter, which is addressed to Martin Nivenius of Amsterdam (Crocus’ own city) and is a considerable piece in its own right, so that it is not surprising to find it listed as an independent work (*Paraclesis ad capessendam sapientiam Iosephi casti exemplo*) by the biographical compendia²⁷. Roughly half of the letter is taken up with the praises of wisdom; at first the reader may wonder where the connexion with Joseph lies, but in fact this device makes us all the more attentive to the theme of wisdom in the play. Where Zovitius only hinted at his main didactic aim in the preface, leaving most of his teaching to emerge in the course of the play, Crocus added much to clarify what had emerged in the 1535 performance of Joseph in his preface of the following year. The Erasmian reference of the title-page is maintained in the tone of the letter, in its connexion of true wisdom with the Christian life and in its learned and seemingly effortless (compared with the laborious Zovitius!) citations of scripture and of the Greek and Latin classics, in about equal measure. Wisdom must be our priority, Crocus begins by saying, and he proceeds to identify wisdom with various objects appearing in the Iliad, Odyssey and Aeneid: Vulcan’s armour, the herb moly, the golden bough and so on. By introducing this point at an early stage, Crocus means us to recognise the approach he will take: he will enthusiastically embrace pagan literature, for even features which seem absurd conceal real wisdom for anyone dedicated enough to open the Silenus. In fact, however, such an allegorising approach to classical literature is not particularly conspicuous in the rest of the preface or the play itself; more to the fore is the straightforward moral value of the ancient authors, whose wisdom is presented as coincident with Christian precepts. Thus, for instance, Pindar’s view of life as the “dream of a shadow” (A3^r: Pythians 8,95) leads inevitably to putting our priority on the kingdom of heaven — the message of Christ, who is eternal wisdom²⁸. In fact, as in *Convivium religiosum*, many classical authors

²⁶ See Craig R. Thompson, *The Colloquies of Erasmus* (Chicago 1965), pp. xxix-xx.

²⁷ Thus J.F. Foppens, *Bibliotheca belgica* (Brussels 1739) I, p. 198.

²⁸ See E.F. Rice, *The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom* (Cambridge, Mass. 1958), pp. 12-13, p. 21.

display higher moral standards than do modern-day Christians — “Croesiani nostri verius quam Christiani” (A3^v). The important thing is to love wisdom. A fitting parallel to the educational approach of Solomon, who taught his son that to love wisdom is close to having acquired it, is provided by Socrates, who was satisfied with his work if his eloquence succeeded in making his listeners love wisdom more (A5^v)²⁹. It is not surprising to find Socrates adduced as the model pagan, and this reference concludes the general part of the preface; Crocus now turns to justify his choice of the story of Joseph as illustration. Different figures among the patriarchs exhibited different virtues, but Joseph combined them all: the four cardinal virtues (a classical concept) and evangelical virtues such as kindness, mercy and patience (A6^r). As we have seen, Crocus sums this up in the phrase “ante evangelium plane evangelicae perfectionis”, thus putting us in mind not only of Jews but of gentiles who though denied the fullness of Christian revelation showed forth exemplary wisdom and virtue. He goes on to talk of this wisdom in partly pagan terms: Joseph, he hopes, will demonstrate to a *Christiana pubes* the ethical philosophy of Socrates and Erasmus (see above). He follows Erasmus in the extension of the topos of “philosophy brought to earth” to Erasmus himself. Although he has serious reservations on some details of the material of the *Colloquies* (“quibusdam exceptis”) there is no mistaking his admiration for Erasmus and for his educational aims combining good Latin, good morals, and wisdom.

The final reference to Erasmus occurs near the end of the letter, and refers to his own letter to the reader in defence of the *Colloquies*. Erasmus defends the suitability of his work by a comparison with the comedies of Plautus and Poggio’s *Facetiae*, both of which, he implies, are commonly read in schools although they ought not to be (ASD I 3, p. 745). Crocus adds to this a number of citations from patristic and pagan authors which condemn the reading of morally corrupt authors and foolish myths (*fabulae* = both “myths” and “plays”), especially by children. He may not have agreed with all of Erasmus’ detailed judgements of what was suitable, but he approved the theory. For him, as for Erasmus, the reason for mentioning the topic at all was of course to contrast unsuitable works with suitable; the Christian poets — Prudentius, Juvenius, the usual list and by implication Crocus himself — are

²⁹ Not taken from a Platonic source, but from Cic., *De oratore* I 47.

far to be preferred, and thus to the false tales of Greek mythology are opposed the true events of the Bible (compare the prologue), and to the sometimes dubious morals adopted by Plautine and Terentian characters the inspiring example of the chaste Joseph, the representative of ethical philosophy. But even pagans (Aristotle, the Spartan state) were opposed to the hearing of some stories and some authors as morally corrupting, and from this Crocus draws the obvious lesson that it is all the more imperative for Christians to avoid such authors. Such caution is merely one aspect of the ethical philosophy which, though a pagan contribution, Crocus has already praised as a sound aim for Christian youth. Anyone who has acquired this philosophy, he tells us, will be unlike the *vulgus* of today, who although they profess Christianity are worse than the pagans (A7^r). As we have seen, this was a favourite Erasmian point; most people with their superstitions and lack of inner conversion are no different from the mass of the pagans, whereas those among the pagans who aspired to something better were without knowing it seeking and coming close to the *philosophia Christi*. While Zovitius does not state this directly, his whole play is devoted to the proposition that Christians can learn from the pagan Ruth. Crocus, on the other hand, does not make much of this theme in the action, but it is clearly dear to his heart. How much relevance then does the preface have to the drama? The play, after all, was produced the year before it was published with its introductory material; is the eulogy of wisdom essentially an unrelated, independent piece?

Undoubtedly the letter exceeds the normal bounds even of a fairly discursive introduction. But about half way through Crocus begins a defence of his choice of subject — Joseph exemplifies ethical philosophy — and of his treatment of it. The topic of his attitude to the classical rules of comedy leads him to anticipate the objection that the play contains too much emphasis on “philosophy” (A7^v). He intends thus to link his use of classical models, which the hypothetical objector supposes may lead him away from the biblical truth, with the ideas presented by Joseph himself; for Joseph, like Ruth, is a philosopher, and this is why he can give his young audience a step on the road to ethical philosophy. Before we turn to Crocus’ reply to the objection, then, let us examine the presentation of Joseph the philosopher.

During the play we see Joseph standing firm against attempted seduction by Sephirach, the wife of Potiphar, enduring with constancy her false accusations, suffering imprisonment and eventually being

released by Pharaoh in order to interpret his dream. During all this he remains constant and true to his God, yet unlike Zovitius' Ruth or Sixt Birck's *Susanna* of 1537 (whose story is substantially the same) he is not devoid of human feelings. He is irritable at times with Sephirach (1.4, B7^{r-v}; cf. Gen. 39.10: *mulier molesta erat adolescenti*) and in prison he expresses his unhappiness with his lot before pulling himself together to say that his hope is in God (4.3, D7^v-8^r). Such a presentation gives greater credibility to his virtue. As a patriarch, Joseph can naturally draw on a greater variety of Old Testament and even New Testament sources for his wisdom than can Ruth, who has to approach truth indirectly. But just as in the preface Crocus cites or alludes to (on a casual reading) Homer, Virgil, Pindar, Sallust, Plutarch, Plato, Lucian, Pliny, Juvenal, Aristotle and Valerius Maximus as supports for his argument, as well as plentiful biblical quotations, so Joseph's biblical morality (especially conspicuous in 1.5, C5^{r-v}) is supplemented by plentiful maxims from the pagan philosophers. It would be a long task to go through these in detail; Crocus himself remarks "... ut *non pauca* sapientiae decreta asperserimus tanquam absynthium melle praelitum" (A6^v). The general effect becomes obvious from his first appearance — the confrontation with Sephirach and the following soliloquy (1.4, 1.5), where he employs philosophical analysis quite unknown to Old Testament characters, telling Sephirach to submit her desire to her will, and using technical terms of Ciceronian philosophical vocabulary such as *appetitus* (C4^v)³⁰. Many of the *sapientiae decreta* are commonplaces deriving ultimately from pagan sources we should not consider philosophical; thus for instance "in re (ut aiunt) mala, bonus animus dimidium adimit mali" (4.1, D6^v), he echoes Plautus (*Capt.* 202, *Pseud.* 452), a source used also by Zovitius (above). But much of Joseph's wisdom derives, as we should suppose, from "Socrates". "Quae extra nos nihil ad nos" (2.1, C6^r) is a slight variant of "quae *supra* nos nihil ad nos" attributed to Socrates by Lactantius (*Div.inst.* III 20.10, *CSEL* 19, p. 246) and probably most familiar to Crocus' readers from its approving citation by Erasmus (*Adag.* 1.6.59). (The learned Crocus, however, mentions Lactantius in his prefatory letter, and had almost certainly read the disparaging original; his verbal change seems designed to counter the apologist's objection). The application has shifted to a more Stoic self-sufficiency:

³⁰ *Appetitus* is used by Cicero e.g. in *De Off.* I 101 and represents his translation of the Aristotelian ὁπμή (*Mag.Mor.* 1185a31, etc).

"Praeter culpam et peccatum nihil homini accidere potest grave" (1.5, C4^v)³¹. But this itself can be related to another maxim also attributed to Socrates, this time in Plato, *Gorgias* 469C: "I should choose rather to be wronged than to do wrong." This judgement was much quoted by pagan authors, among them Cicero in that influential fifth book of the *Tusculans* (*accipere quam facere praestat iniuriam*, V 56), and it is hardly surprising that many of the Fathers also found it strikingly compatible with Christian ethics³². Joseph quotes it in the central scene of his confrontation with the accusing Potiphar and Saphirach (3.1, D3^v: *infelix est non qui accipit sed qui facit / iniuriam*) and it is implicit in his motivation throughout. Thus already in 1.4 he tells Saphirach he is sorry for her; she not unnaturally thinks he is mocking her, but the meaning is clearly that she, as the party who is doing wrong, is more to be pitied than himself. If we compare Joseph with the similarly accused Hippolytus of Euripides and Seneca, the importance of this motif becomes all the more striking; the upright pagan youth is constrained to keep silence by the oath he has unwittingly sworn, while Joseph is bound by more general moral principles — he prefers to suffer injustice himself rather than injure Saphirach, even by speaking the truth. No doubt it is partly for this reason that Crocus draws so little on Seneca's *Phaedra*, which might otherwise seem an obvious source; certainly Birck was not deterred by the difference of genre from drawing on a tragedy for his "tragicomedy" *Susanna*. As Joseph's central motivation, this principle of Plato's Socrates is all the more significant when we recall the view that Joseph, especially in his sufferings, was a type of Christ. Although Crocus does not draw the parallel explicitly, does he not mean us to see that the life and passion of Christ form the supreme example of Socratic wisdom?

Pagan and Christian *exempla* agree, then, in the play, just as in the preface sources from the two sides all pointed the same way. Crocus is as concerned as Zovitius to vindicate the study of classical literature, and his play is in part concerned to do this, by putting pagan philosophical maxims into the mouth of the irreproachable Joseph. Returning to the prefatory letter, we are presented with his justification for the ideological *rapprochement*; he mentions the well-tried hypothesis that the philosophy of the gentiles originated from the Jews, a theory put forward by Jewish writers when they first came across the Greeks and

³¹ Cf. Cic., *Tusc.* III 84.

³² For ancient citations, see the edition by E.R. Dodds (Oxford 1959), p. 101, p. 107; add Augustine, *ps.* 125.8 (*P.L.* 37, col. 1655).

one which remained popular among Christian exegetes³³. Since the Greeks themselves had a tradition that their philosophers had imbibed their wisdom from Egypt, the case of Joseph becomes particularly apt; it was he, clearly, who had transmitted philosophy to the Egyptians, whence the Greeks appropriated it. It is perhaps a disappointing position for Crocus to adopt; Justin's idea of the universal diffusion of the *logos* seems both more noble and less open to historical objections. But to reason thus may be to mistake the point. Surely for Crocus the matter of fundamental importance is not a theory "held by many learned men" but the convergence of the best elements of this philosophy with revealed truth. Although the controversy on the salvation of the pagans was one which understandably could interest and concern Erasmus and other enthusiasts for classical literature, the basic issue was rather the more practical one of how to relate two systems each clamouring for adherence, yet often believed to be only very partially compatible. The very form of the *comoedia sacra* demanded some such reconciliation; the two plays we have been examining each attempt to supply a theoretical justification for such reconciliation. According to the viewpoint of their authors, to read classical literature (with discernment) must be not only licit but necessary, for if the *logos* is somehow present among the pagans to turn one's back on their philosophy is to deny Christ. Thus Erasmus, speaking of those who spurn pagan achievements, can say "nec munus modo pulcherrimum recusamus, verumetiam autorem muneris pro gratia quam debebamus, summa contumelia afficimus"³⁴. This, though phrased in an intentionally provocative way, is surely a proposition to which Zovitus and Crocus would have given wholehearted assent in their wish to reconcile *bonae literae* with their religion. If some of the details of their attempted reconciliation sometimes seem naïve and mistaken in detail, they are not alone in this. The background on which they drew and to which in part they contributed is one which can still concern us today³⁵.

Oxford
St. Hilda's College

and
London
University College.

³³ See H. Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition* (Oxford 1966), p. 14; L. Capéran, *Le problème du salut des infidèles* (Paris 1912), pp. 55-59; G.H. Williams, "Erasmus and the Reformers on non-Christian Religions and *salus extra ecclesiam*", in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in memory of E.H. Harbison*, ed. T.K. Rabb and J.E. Seigel (Princeton 1969), pp. 319-370, esp. p. 323.

³⁴ Erasmus, *Antibarbari*, ASD I 1, p. 84, ll. 16-18.

³⁵ For help and encouragement in the writing of this article I should like to thank Jozef IJsewijn, James McConica, Ian McFarlane and Richard Rutherford.

Cheri BROWN

THE SUSANNA OF JOHANNES PLACENTIUS: THE FIRST LATIN VERSION OF THE BIBLE DRAMA

In the early decades of the sixteenth century, as the schoolmaster dramatists of northern Europe set about adapting specifically Christian themes to the framework of Roman comedy, the biblical story of the chaste Susanna stands without doubt among the most popular of subjects brought to the stage¹. The most influential of early Susanna dramas were authored by Sixt Birck (German, 1532; Latin, 1536) and are well known². In the same year, 1532, that Birck's *Die History von der frommen Gottsförchtigen Frouwen Susanna* was published in Basel, there appeared in Antwerp a yet virtually unknown Susanna play by the Dominican Johannes Placentius³. Along with the German *Susanna* play

¹ See Paul F. Casey, *The Susanna Theme in Modern German Literature* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1976); Marvin T. Herrick, *Tragicomedy: Its Origin and Development in Italy, France, and England* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1962), pp. 16-62, and his "Susanna and the Elders in Sixteenth-Century Drama", in *Studies in Honor of T.W. Baldwin*, ed. D.C. Allen (Urbana, Univ. of Illinois Press, 1958), pp. 125-135.

² Sixt Birck, *Sämtliche Dramen*, ed. Manfred Brauneck (Hildesheim - New York: de Gruyter, 1976), vol. 2, 1-53, 167-272; Robert Pilger, "Die Dramatisierungen der Susanna im 16. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 11 (1880), 129-217. The earliest extant Susanna drama is a late fifteenth-century *Fastnachtspiel*; see Adelbert von Keller, ed., *Nachlese zu den Fastnachtspielen aus dem 15ten Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1859), and Casey, pp. 33-44; Pilger, pp. 135-141.

³ Johannes Placentius, *Svsan=/na Per Pla=/centivm Evan=/gelisten lusa ...* (Antwerp: Martin de Keyser, 1532). The Nijhoff-Kronenberg *Nederlandsche Bibliographie*, vol. 2, lists in addition to this edition (3734), two others: Antwerp: Martin de Keyser, 1534 (3735), and Antwerp: Willem Vorsterman, 1536 (3736); vol. 1 gives a fourth edition, Antwerp: Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten, 1534 (1728), 8, sig. A-B⁸C⁴ [*Susanna* sig. A-B⁶]. In my discussion I refer to this edition, located in the Folger Library.

Leicester Bradner, "The Latin Drama of the Renaissance (1349-1640)", *Studies in the Renaissance*, 4 (1957), lists only three editions of this play, omitting one edition from 1534, in his bibliography, p. 66. The play is mentioned by Herrick, *Tragicomedy*, p. 46, and praised by Wilhelm Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1901), vol. 2, 120-121. Hugo Holstein gives a short discussion of the play in "Zur Literatur des lateinischen Schauspiels des 16. Jahrhunderts", *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 23 (1891), 446-450. See also on Placentius M. Lavoye, "La vie et l'œuvre de Jean Placentius de

of Birck and the Prodigal Son plays of Waldis (1527) and Gnapheus (1529), the *Susanna* of Placentius deserves close study as one of the earliest representatives of the Bible drama, which enjoyed such popularity in Germany and the Low Countries and formed the foundation of the Christian Terence⁴. An examination of the play and Placentius' dramatic technique as he presents the *Susanna* story in conformance with characteristic features of his classical models and the tenets of early Renaissance dramatic theory will yield additional insight into the evolution of the Bible drama as a literary form.

Placentius' play is a compact piece, running in total to slightly over 530 lines. In contrast to the rudimentary structure of Birck's *Susanna*, where two choruses divide the play into three acts of uneven length, Placentius' drama has a five-act structure similar to Gnapheus' influential *Acolastus*. Each act is further divided into scenes by listing at each scene change the names of the characters with speaking parts. The body of the play is preceded by the prefatory remarks of the "Epigramma ad lectorem", the list of "Interlocutores" in order of appearance, and the "Argumentum", which follows the standard of editions of Terence in giving a summary of the plot⁵. Again like Gnapheus, and certainly mindful of Donatus' comment that Latin comic dramatists did not use a chorus, Placentius does not employ a chorus in the *Susanna*; nor, in contrast to both Birck and Gnapheus, does Placentius end his play with an epilogue⁶.

Like Birck and Gnapheus, Placentius is conscious that with the *Susanna* he is breaking new ground in the field of drama, and the "Epigramma ad lectorem", probably composed by the editor of the

Saint-Trond", *Bulletin de la Société des bibliophiles liégeois*, 19 (1956), 29-47; on Placentius' name, J. IJsewijn, "The Real Name of Johannes Placentius", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 25 (1976), 283-284; on the *Plausus luctificae mortis* by Eusebius Candidus and printed with Placentius' *Susanna*, see J. IJsewijn, "A Latin Death-dance Play of 1532," *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 18 (1969), 77-79.

⁴ Burkard Waldis, *De Parabell vom vorlorn Szohn* (1527; rpt. Halle: Niemeyer, 1881); Guilelmus Gnapheus, *Acolastus*, ed. Johannes Bolte (Berlin: Speyer & Peters, 1891). A critical introduction and translation of the play is provided by W.E.D. Atkinson, *Acolastus: A Latin Play of the Sixteenth Century* (London, Ontario: Univ. of Western Ontario Press, 1964). On the importance of the Christian Terence and the development of tragicomedy, see Herrick, *Tragicomedy*, pp. 16-62.

⁵ In the list of "Interlocutores" only the "Carnifices" appear out of order.

⁶ See Donatus' comment on the chorus, *Aeli Donati quod fertur Comimentum Terenti* ..., ed. P. Wessner (Leipzig: Teubner, 1902), p. 18. The remark is actually from Evanthius but attributed to Donatus.

play, thus takes on overtones of a Terentian defence⁷. The ancients are cited while at the same time their "vanas nugas" are dismissed:

Quid iuvat heus iuvenes veteris monumenta Terenti
 Aut Plauti, aut Nevi, volvere saepe manu,
 Et spectatori vanas divendere nugas,
 In quibus instruitur desidiosus amor?

(A2^r)

Placentius' play is commended to the audience: how much more ennobling for youth, the text continues, this "divina poemata nostri / Evangelistae, qui canit ore cato" (A2^r), for this drama will show how the "senes" are corrupted by love, and this modern story will be better retained and not so quickly forgotten by the young. Mindful of the pedagogical aims of school drama, the "Epigramma" emphasizes that "divinas historias", plays based on accepted biblical fact, are more appropriate for the young to present "veterum quam recitare leves" (A2^r)⁸. The "Epigramma" refrains from any designation of the play as comedy or tragedy, a perplexing issue for authors of the period, by skirting the problem with the statement, "Hic bene Susannam festivo carmine lusit" (A2^r)⁹.

The list of "Interlocutores" shows that in casting his play Placentius, like Gnapheus in staging *Acolastus*, kept well in mind both his biblical source and his Roman models. All of the characters named in the biblical Susanna story appear (Joachim, Helchias, Susanna, Daniel) and those mentioned as household servants are represented in the play by three characters: Maura, Livia, and Charinus. The two elders, also unnamed in the Bible, are identified as Crito and Chrisalus. The Jewish populace, which condemns Susanna to death at the urging of the elders, is personified, in the manner of medieval drama, as the figure "Populus", just as the "Angelus Dei" referred to by Daniel in the Bible appears in a mute role: "Angelus persona muta, stringens gladium" (A2^r)¹⁰. In the manner of Roman comedy Placentius adds characters in

⁷ On Terence's prologues, see George E. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy* (Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1971), pp. 62-65. Herrick, *Tragicomedy*, discusses the typical prologue of early sacred dramas, pp. 22-23, which often expresses the same sentiments as the "Epigramma" of *Susanna*.

⁸ On the use of the term *historia*, see Herrick, *Tragicomedy*, p. 25.

⁹ See Gnapheus' dedicatory letter to *Acolastus*, in Bolte, pp. 2-3, where Gnapheus alludes to the problem of mixing the comic and the tragic.

¹⁰ In the Vulgate, Daniel 13: 59: "... manet enim angelus Domini, gladium habens, ..." While medieval dramatic tradition allowed supernatural and allegorical figures on stage,

pairs: two mute "Lorarii", two hangmen, and a servant each for Crito and Chrisalus, called "Petulus" and "Hislio", and identified respectively as "Critonis famulus" and "pedellus, Chrisali famulus" (A2^r). Their names, like those of the servants and the elders, recall the plays of Plautus and Terence¹¹. A "poeta" delivers the "Argumentum" to the audience, bringing the total number of characters to seventeen. Of these, however, in contrast to Birck's *Susanna*, which has over thirty speaking parts, only six have major parts in the dialogue of the play. Placentius has thus provided his play with enough roles for a large number of students to perform but has restricted major parts according to the practice of Plautus and Terence.

The "Argumentum", which follows the list of characters, opens with a vivid description of the corrupt elders: "Senes duo multo omnium impiissimi, / Ira, libidine, avaritia, gula, omnibus / Breviter malis foeti", who are contrasted with chaste Susanna (A2^v). The body of the "Argumentum" recounts the biblical story of Susanna: the resolution of the elders to attempt adultery, the confrontation in the garden, the accusation of Susanna by the elders, her condemnation, and the rescue by Daniel. Moralizing, in contrast to Birck's *Susanna* where the "Vorred" is heavily didactic, is kept to a minimum: "Ita servat integros Deus optimus, malos / Perdit; docemur hoc argumento habere abditam / Spem in coelicolas ..." (A2^v)¹².

In the first scene of Act I the audience is entertained by the interaction of familiar character types, the *senex amator* and the impudent and crafty slave. Placentius has prepared the audience for this comic scene by characterizing Crito and Chrisalus, who are identified as "advocatus" and "iudex" in the list of "Interlocutores", as *senes* in the "Argumentum". Crito opens by castigating all young women who will have

Placentius' use of the "Angelus Dei" and "Populus" is in keeping with the biblical account of the Susanna story.

¹¹ For example: "Crito" from *Phormio*, "Chrisalus" from the *Bacchides*, "Charinus" from *Andria*.

¹² In Birck's "Vorred" only 11. 51-54 deal with the plot of the play out of over sixty lines; see Brauneck, p. 5.

The "Argumentum" is incorrectly identified as written in scazons ("sub Iambis Hypnactiis"); in actuality the "Argumentum" as well as the play itself is written primarily in iambic trimeter, although other meters (octonarius, trochaic septenarius) are found as well. The *Susanna* is polymetric and thus closer in style to the language of Roman comedy, which contrasts this play to *Acolastus*, where (with few exceptions), a constant meter is held to in each scene, as well as to the first published plays of Macropedius (see Johannes Bolte's edition of *Rebelles* and *Aluta* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1897) as well as Bolte's edition of *Acolastus*.

nothing to do with old men: "Sexcentae pestes, podagrae, pleureses malae / Has puellas obtineant diu, quas senum / Non miseret ..." (A3^r). Petulus counters that there is a certain consistency in such behavior, since neither do "puellae" use "annosos equos" to carry burdens or wear worn-out clothes to festivals; at least in this they are true to their nature, in contrast to old men: "Senes non itidem: varii sunt, momento / Evanidi sapientia, ingenio irritabiles, praecoces in rixam" (A3^r). Crito, enraged, calls the "Lorarii" to haul off Petulus, who evades misfortune by reminding Crito that the courtesan Scapha will be coming to Crito's house and will not be persuaded to stay except by Petulus himself; Crito immediately changes his tune ("euge mi Petule") and in anticipation of the interlude with Scapha orders Petulus to make everything ready at home, exalting "Iam nunc Iuventa mihi rediit" (A3^v). The influence of Plautus is apparent in this scene, since the figure of Crito is reminiscent of the aged lovers in the *Casina* and the *Mercator*, and also in Petulus' aside to the audience, commenting on Crito, "Protinus alius est" (A3^v), a technique for which Donatus faulted Plautus¹³.

Before Petulus can leave, however, the beginning of Scene 2 is signaled by the arrival of Chrisalus' servant Hislio who, consistent with the manner of Roman comedy, just "happens along". With the character Hislio and his report of off-stage action, Placentius begins now to prefigure the biblical narrative in the play. Hislio recounts that he has been approached by a young Jewish woman seeking counsel; unfortunately for Crito, Hislio has recommended her to Chrisalus. Crito flies into a jealous rage at this lost opportunity and resolves to go to Chrisalus to discover just how he has fared "cum scitula virgine" (A4^r-A4^v). (In an ironic touch, while Crito is questioning Hislio, Hislio himself shows a weakness for pretty maidens as he is distracted from the conversation by the appearance of a "virguncula" downstage!)

Crito's exit after the exchange with Hislio signals the end of Scene 2. Hislio and Petulus remain on stage and proceed to discuss the moral turpitude of their masters, which has just been demonstrated in the person of Crito. Petulus finds it ridiculous that Crito is so easily smitten and establishes that Crito perverts his profession by seducing female clients: "Virgines eum si quae adeunt consilii causa, / Non abeunt integrae ..." (A4^v). The tottering Chrisalus, so Hislio reports, is of the

¹³ See Wessner, p. 20: "... et item quod nihil ad populum facit actorem velut extra comaediam loqui, quod vitium Plauti frequentissimum."

same nature. Hislio's thoughts turn again to the "virguncula", returning to the theme of his discourse in the previous scene with Crito: "at at metuo, quorsum / Evadat virguncula?" (A5^r). The encounter of Chrisalus and the virgin prefigures the pending assault of the "senes" on Susanna, and a degree of suspense concerning the outcome of this plot is created when Petulus, commenting on the young woman's fate, assumes the worst: "Eo concessit. / Nihil addubita, lupus non remittet ovem" (A5^r). Scene 3 ends as the two servants lament the morals of the age and that they are powerless to prevent such evils: "At hodie nihil / Minus sumus, quam tanti mali auspices" (A5^r). Hislio exits and Petulus, recalling Crito's injunction in Scene 1, remembers that he must hasten to prepare for Scapha and leaves the stage as well.

Crito appears to begin Scene 4, which functions to briefly (fourteen lines) recapitulate motifs of Scenes 1-3. Crito ruminates in envy over Chrisalus in a short monologue; Petulus then arrives to announce that Scapha, the courtesan mentioned in Scene 1, wants Crito to hurry; his mood changes abruptly again as in Scene 1 ("Sum gaudio factus velut ebrius"), and he momentarily forgets Chrisalus and the young woman who was the subject of discussion in Scenes 2 and 3 (A5^v). Before Crito can follow Petulus home, Chrisalus appears and the dialogue of Scene 5 begins (A5^v-A6^r). Crito hurls insult after insult at Chrisalus: Chrisalus is avaricious, sacrilegious, given to debauchery (A6^r). Chrisalus tries to calm Crito, reminding him of their position in the community: "Quin tandem memento nos / Esse presbyteros ..." (A6^r). He finally succeeds in suppressing Crito's tirade as he sees "Ioachimus classicus" approaching and reminds Crito that they should try to win his good opinion (A6^v)¹⁴. Joachim is accompanied by Susanna, and thus the first two characters from the Bible story proper appear in the play. In another ironic twist, Joachim invites the two respected elders to their house for dinner, "ita imperavit Susanna nostra" (A7^r). Act I ends with Crito exclaiming, as they all leave the stage, at the beauty of Susanna: "Foemina est, ita me Dii bene ament, digna / Cui nunquam aliquid negetur" (A7^r).

Up to this point, Placentius has established the motivation for the seduction of Susanna in the lecherous nature of the old men, who in seducing young girls, seek to bring back their youth. Crito has occupied center stage, and his volatile emotions and inconsistency of behavior

¹⁴ "Classicus" here refers to Joachim's upper-class status. Crito subsequently in Act III defines Joachim's social standing as patrician: "patritii Joachimi" (B2^r).

form the basis of the humor in this first act; indeed, the comic nature of Act I and the broad characterization of Crito, which Placentius accomplishes by adding to the biblical account the two servants and relying heavily on the conventions of Roman comedy, distinguishes this *Susanna* drama from other contemporary versions of the story¹⁵. Placentius' talent as dramatist is evident in many respects; Crito is presented in lively interaction and dialogue with other characters, while the presentation of Chrisalus is managed efficiently first by the reports of Hislio. Placentius carefully interconnects the scenes of Act I in leaving at least one character from a scene on stage for the next and in carefully picking up threads of plot in Scene 4. Finally, in addition to the characters Petulus and Hislio, whom Placentius adds to the play, the other events not in the Bible story — the approach of the "virguncula" to Chrisalus and the invitation of the elders to the house of Joachim and Susanna — point ironically to subsequent events in the play. Act I, however, does become overly long, comprising almost half of the entire drama. Petulus and Hislio disappear from the play after Act I, and while Placentius' use of these protatic characters conforms to that of Terence, the technique is avoided by Gnapheus and other dramatists of the day¹⁶.

Act I ends with the dramatic climax of the elders' first laying eyes on Susanna, and Act II begins logically with their mutual confession that they have been inflamed by passion (A7^r). This common affliction is enough to overcome the differences between them apparent in Act I. In the first scene of Act II, Crito, the moving force in the play, suggests the plan of accosting Susanna while she is alone in her garden. Just as in Act I, where each scene has some conflict at its core, in this scene, too, dramatic tension is achieved, since Crito must overcome Chrisalus' reluctance to attempt to seduce Susanna. Crito plans how he will win over Susanna, by praising her beauty: "Tu inquam heus pulcherrima Susanna, / Ecquid nos enecas eleganti specie?" (A8^r). Chrisalus consents to the deed, exclaiming in allusion to Roman gods, "Vt ut ex Vulcano

¹⁵ Birck's *Susanna* and that of Paul Rebhuhn (Zwickau: 1536) are essentially serious in tone. For Rebhuhn's *Susanna* see Hermann Palm, *Paul Rebhuhns Dramen* (Stuttgart 1859; rpt. Darmstadt: *Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft*, 1969), pp. 1-88.

¹⁶ Rebhuhn, for instance, introduces the character Baldam in Act II, Scenes 1-2, pp. 18-25 of the 1536 edition of *Susanna* "ad depingendam iudicum iniquitatem" (p.18), and thereafter Baldam disappears from the play; in the revision of the play (1544) Rebhuhn takes care to pick up this thread of plot, by adding Baldam to Act V, Sc. 5, where he is accorded his just punishment (p. 78). Page numbers to the Palm edition.

subito factus sum Mercurius?" (A8^r). In the second scene of Act II, Susanna appears with her servants, Maura and Livia, admonishing them against pride and flirtatious conduct; rather than allure suitors, they should concern themselves with virtue and learning the proper direction of a household (A8^r). This interlude, again an addition to the Bible story, points up Susanna's impunity to the planned seduction and provides a definite contrast to Scene 1. At the end of Act II, the introductory portion or protasis of the play is complete: all the main characters have been introduced, the plot of the elders has been motivated and articulated, and Susanna's virtue has been attested, preparing the way for the complication or epitasis in Act III.

This act depicts the confrontation in the garden and consists of only one scene. Crito and Chrisalus hide themselves in the garden. Crito envisions Susanna's consent to adultery ("*Sponte consentit*") but does not rule out force: "*Sin omnino pervicax refugit / Adulterium illi facile impegero*" (A8^v). Following the biblical narrative, Susanna enters the garden and sends her maids for bath oils and soap, ordering that the gate of the garden be closed. No sooner have her attendants gone out than Chrisalus urges Crito to accost Susanna: "*Eccam occasio quae data est*" (B1^r); after Crito jumps out exclaiming "*fave furtivae / Voluptatis pater magne Juppiter,*" Chrisalus encourages again, "*excute ocium isthuc, / Innobile, quid stas?*" (B1^r). Crito now takes up the flattery he contrived in Act II: "*Au au omnium / Quae vivunt foeminarum pulcherrima Susanna*" (B1^r). Susanna is unmoved and responds: "*(Malum) quid hic eratis, ubi non convenit?*" (B1^r). Chrisalus too tries sweet words, "*Euge bellissima foemina: / Nihil te pudeat, nos seorsum cupiditate omni / Excipere*" (B1^r). Picking up the theme of Act I, Scene 1, Crito misinterprets Susanna's indignation as dismissal of the amatory competence of old men, and reassures her that, having sacrificed at the altar of Venus, the "*senes*" will be invigorated in her tender arms (B1^r-B1^v). Chrisalus too, by now actively involved in the intimidation, fails to comprehend why Susanna should not yield, since they are alone and no one will discover them. Susanna cites the behavior of the elders as shameless, especially considering that they have been honored guests in her home. Chrisalus, growing tired of reasoned approaches, urges Crito: "*Occupa ergo eam*" (B1^v). Susanna remains firm: "*Nihil apud me profeceritis, etiam / importunitate*" (B1^v). Then Crito threatens to falsely accuse Susanna of adultery. Susanna's response echos the Bible story:

Miseram me, angustiae mihi sunt undique
 Quippe isthuc si egero, mortem operor.
 Sin illabefacta refutem, non effugio manus
 Vestras: quanquam satius esse putem, incidere
 In manus vestras, quam Deum inimicum habere (B2')¹⁷.

Susanna resigns herself to her fate and Crito calls the servants. Charinus appears and expresses his disbelief at the elders' witness. Both Crito and Chrisalus feign disgust at Susanna's conduct and promise to detail her perfidy the following day. Act III closes with Susanna's prayer to God to deliver her, which ends with a vivid image: "excute potenter / Bolum hunc e faucibus beluarum" (B3').

Susanna's defiance of the elders provides the obstacle to the old men's plan of adultery, and the iniquity of the elders is but compounded when the thwarted seduction moves them to publicly dishonor Susanna, violate the justice it is their profession to uphold, and bring about the death of an innocent. Whereas in Birck's *Susanna* the garden scene is performed perfunctorily as a prelude to the lengthy deliberations of the judges and councilmen, Placentius has portrayed the event as a lively exchange of dialogue in which both the elders and Susanna give voice to the essential facts of the biblical version; at the same time, the characters remain consistent in behavior with their portrayal in the drama up to this point: the old men are ineffectual and foolish in their infatuation, but if insulted, can turn malevolent, as Crito had lashed out and ordered the arrest of Petulus in Act I. Susanna puts into practice the virtue she had preached to her servants in Act II. Susanna emerges, especially in comparison with the Birck play, as a particularly well-drawn figure. She is incredulous but apparently unperturbed by the initial approach of the elders; she is confident of her power to shun their advances and does not hold back in alluding to the old men's wickedness. It is only when Crito threatens the false charge of adultery that she realizes her mortal danger and must make the decision between submission and death, and she calmly chooses death rather than sin. Also in Act III Placentius takes pains to establish beyond doubt the complicity of Chrisalus, who had at first hesitated to become involved in Act II, in the infamous deed. In the figures of Susanna and Chrisalus, Placentius, as a Catholic author, might well be making a statement on the autonomy and power of the

¹⁷ Daniel 13: 22-23 in the Vulgate: "Angustiae sunt mihi undique: si enim hoc egero, mors mihi est; si autem non egero, non effugiam manus vestras. Sed melius est mihi absque opere incidere in manus vestras, quam peccare in conspectu Domini."

will; certainly Susanna is kept from sin through the power of her personal rejection of evil, and Chrisalus, who will suffer the fate of death by stoning, would not be deserving of the death sentence unless his own actions condemn him¹⁸.

As the play continues into Act IV, Joachim and Helchias are introduced. The short scene between the two which opens this act shows Joachim lamenting the fate of Susanna; he is distraught that such a chaste woman should be accused of wrongdoing. Helchias is sympathetic, but adds to the dramatic tension by remarking of the charge, "At mihi videtur verisimile" (B3'). Joachim's lines heighten suspense concerning Susanna's fate and also present his very human reaction to the circumstances:

Totam noctem insumpsi circum gemitu,
Suspiriis, lachrymis; o Dii, abii, redii, eadem plus
Millies. Quid mei cordis nobilissima particula? (B3')

An unusual feature of Placentius' *Susanna* is the manner of Joachim's integration into the main plot; Joachim is not only the loyal husband, but in this play, in deviation from the biblical account, he declares that he is to share the fate of his wife: "Decretum est me simul commori" (B3'), and he restates this before the public assembly at Susanna's trial: "Certum est me / Pariter cum illa perire, adobruī saxis" (B3'). In facing death, however, Joachim lacks Susanna's composure and fortitude, as his exclamation from the previous scene demonstrates: "Vae misero mihi, anxietas ea coepta est, / Quae mihi proxime mortem derivet" (B3').

In the second scene of Act IV, as in the Bible, the "senes" recount the alleged adultery of Susanna, and the "Populus" promptly responds, "Mortem merita est" (B4'). Susanna voices one last prayer to God, and Joachim announces that he is ready for the sentence to be carried out. At this moment, the last scene opens with the appearance of Daniel, who cries out that the sentence has been rash and an innocent woman condemned (B4'). Crito and Chrisalus, in another embellishment of the biblical narrative, attempt to discredit Daniel, whose counsel has no weight against that of the "senes"; emphatically, Daniel established his credibility at the end of Act IV: "Ego ego / Qualis qualis sum, facile docuero, quam praepostere / Vobis cum aequitate conveniat" (B5').

¹⁸ On the significance of this problem for Gnapheus and his contemporaries, see Atkinson's comments on the Luther-Erasmus dispute over "mera necessitas," pp. 47-67.

Daniel's interrogation of the elders is reserved for Act V, which continues with the same characters on stage. While the division of the play into a separate act at this point seems artificial, Placentius is following the sequential plot structure as outlined most clearly by Badius, which calls for some "remedium" to the complication of the play to be introduced in the fourth act of a play, with the final resolution of the plot reserved for the fifth act¹⁹. Daniel's actions in Act V closely parallel the Bible: he chastises the people for their gullibility and reveals the falsehood of the elders' charge by questioning them separately as to where the "adultery" took place. After Crito is forced to answer "Sub cino", Daniel turns back on Crito words directed at Susanna in Act III: "Nihil te etiamnum pudet?" (B5'). He then calls for Chrisalus, who craftily tries to evade a direct answer to Daniel's question about the tree: "sub ea nimirum / Quam designavit Crito" (B5'). When pressed, he betrays himself by answering, "Sub pino" (B6'). Daniel condemns the elders to death and calls the hangmen. The play closes with a brief prayer of thanksgiving by Susanna, joined by Helchias and Joachim. The "Carnifices" have the last word, announcing that the elders will be executed offstage, and they enjoin the audience, "Valete et plaudite" (B7').

The plot of Placentius' *Susanna* thus ends in "double issue," with the evildoers punished and the virtuous rewarded²⁰. Most prominently, and even more strikingly than the *Acolastus* of Gnapheus, Placentius' play shows the extensive influence of Renaissance theory and practice of Roman comedy on the early Bible drama, an influence which is only rudimentarily evident in the vernacular *Susanna* of Birck. Like Gnapheus, Placentius adapts stock characters from his classical models, but he exploits these characters fully in the first half of his play for expressly comic purposes; other conventions are adopted as well from Plautus and Terence: the doubling of characters, allusions to Roman gods, the use of

¹⁹ P. Terentii aphri ... Comoedie a Guidone Juvenale ... explanate: et a Jodoco Badio Ascensio una cum explanationibus cumque eiusdem Ascensii prenotamentis atque anotamentis suis locis adhibitis (Venundantur Lugduni ab Jacobo Huguetan, 1511); Badius describes the five-act plot structure in "Capitulum xix" of the *Praenotamenta* as follows: "In primo autem horum actuum ut plurimum explicat argumentum. [I]n secundo fabula agi incipit et ad finem tendere cupit. In tertio inseritur perturbatio et impedimentum et desperatio rei concupitae. In quarto remedium alicuius interventu[s] affertur. In quinto autem omnia ad optatum finem ut iam sepe dixi perducuntur" (B2'-B3'). This corresponds to the structure of *Susanna*.

²⁰ Discussion of plot in such terms was not actually taken up in dramatic theory until commentaries began to appear on Aristotle's *Poetics*; see Herrick, *Tragicomedy*, pp. 67-73.

asides, chance meetings. The plot structure of the *Susanna* corresponds closely to the five-act structure as articulated in contemporary dramatic theory, with the protasis in Acts I and II, the epitasis in Act III, and the catastrophe in Acts IV and V. Placentius gives care to *liaisons des scènes* in every act except the second, which in its two scenes contrasts the wicked elders with the chaste Susanna by presenting two distinct rather than interlinked character groups on stage. Further adding to the overall coherence of the play are the "verbal echoes" provided by the language, as when Crito's flattering remarks are practiced in Act II and then addressed to Susanna in Act III, when both Petulus in Act II and Chrisalus in Act III speak metaphorically of the "lupus" / "lupa", and when Daniel, in Act V, takes up the "Nihil te pudet" phrase used by Chrisalus (and also Susanna) in Act III²¹. The staging of the play reflects as well the influence of Roman comedy. The action of the drama suggests that it was performed on a long stage with space for characters, such as Joachim and Susanna (I,5), to approach from the side. Interior scenes are avoided, while the entrance and exit of characters suggest the presence on stage of several cubicles typical of the "Terenzbühne" as depicted in contemporary editions of Terence²². Placentius does not adhere to a strict unity of time, since the biblical story of Sussana calls for her trial to take place "die crastina".

From the biblical version of Susanna Placentius omits only the incident (Daniel 13, 32) where the elders force Susanna to remove her veil. In addition to the scenes of Act I, which delineate the folly of the "senes" and the motivation for the seduction attempt, Placentius adds to the Bible story elements, such as the dialogue of Joachim and Helchias (IV, 1) and Hislio's account of the "virguncula" seeking counsel (I,2) which serve purposes of foreshadowing, delineation of character, or building up dramatic tension. The overt moral didacticism of Birck's

²¹ In Act III, Chrisalus, angered at Susanna's rebuff, exclaims vituperatively "Lupa verius est quam foemina" (B2'), which echoes Petulus' remark in Act I, applied to Chrisalus, "Lupus non remittet ovem" (A5'); this is another example of verbal irony in the play.

²² See for example the illustrations in the *Comoediae sex* of Terence published in 1493 (Lyon: Treichsel), and Heinz Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas* (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1959), vol. 2, 239-67, 80-83. For a discussion of the staging of Dutch and German dramas of the period, see Otto W. Tetzlaff, "Neulateinische Dramen der Niederlande in ihrer Einwirkung auf die deutsche Literatur des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik*, 1 (1972), 111-192.

Susanna is instead implicit in the Placentius version, demonstrated in the proper conduct of Susanna.

Finally, although the action of Placentius' *Susanna* is not evenly divided into five acts, as in the *Acolastus* of Gnapheus, Placentius succeeds in presenting well-drawn, individualized characters in the *Susanna*. All of the major characters have individual personality traits, presented usually in terms of contrast: Hislio is a loyal servant like Petulus (I, 2-3), but more noble-minded, since he is more concerned with the fate of the virgin at the hands of Chrisalus; Chrisalus (I, 5; II, 1) is a lecherous reprobate like Crito, but less irascible; Joachim is intensely moved by his wife's dilemma and more loyal than the wavering Helchias (IV, 1); Susanna (III) is determined and articulate in fending off the elders and in calling out for divine rescue (III; IV, 2). In this achievement the *Susanna* of Placentius, in addition to reflecting the modulation of act and scene into an articulate dramatic structure in the pattern of Gnapheus' *Acolastus*, compares favorably with the psychological realism and use of dramatic contrast celebrated in the more famous dramas of Placentius' contemporaries Crocus and Macropedius.

Dept. of Languages
Moorhead State University
Moorhead, MN 56560.

Dirk SACRÉ*

DE DOMINICO PONSEVIO SCRIPTORE FLORENTINO

PROHEMIUM

Dominici Ponsevi, publici in Academia Pisana eloquentiae quondam professoris, ut vita, ita et opuscula Latine conscripta oblivione iacent obruta. Sed tamen ille, licet minime comparandus cum Fracastoriis Naugeriis Sannazariis Bargaeis Vidis, ingenio et arte non prorsum carebat. Quare operae pretium duxi vitae Ponselianae cursum scrutari quaeque ille a posteritate legi voluit, ea explorare atque aliquatenus illustrare.

Me autem Ponsevi vitam exponere volentem ac plura doctorum volumina excutientem spe saepe frustratum fateor; qui enim Ponsevio meo (ut ita dicam) institerit, inveni fere nullum; quin frustra quasi quaedam repperi vix (qui nunc rerum est status) adunanda¹. Ea, qualia-qualia erant, rettuli ceterum in Ponsevi scriptis industrius; Ponselium enim Aonium Palearium poetam validissimum imitatum esse non sine admiratione animadverti.

Dominicus igitur Ponselius Florentiae lucem hausit anno circiter 1560^o; patri nomen Sebastianus. Summo an humili loco sit natus non constat; quem vero doctorem non sollemniter renuntiarunt, eum amplissimis maioribus ortum esse non facile credam.

Adulescens Aldi Manuti philologi, Pauli f., admiratione incensus, ipsi Latinas Graecasque docti litteras coepit assidere; quem cum Bononiae

* Aangesteld Navorser bij het N.F.W.O.

¹ Cf. G. Negri, *Istoria degli scrittori fiorentini (...)*, Italica gens, 55 (Bologna, 1973 = Ferrara, 1722), pp. 155 et 521; R. Del Gratta, *Acta graduum Academiae Pisanae*, I: 1543-1599 (Pisa, 1980); A. Fabronius, *Historiae Academiae Pisanae volumen II* (Pisis, 1792); C.B. Schmitt, "The Studio pisano in the European Context", in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del '500* (Firenze, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 19-36 (p. 23); Ponselium paucissimis attigere Ludovicus Ferrari in *Onomastico* et Marius Cosenza in *Humanistarum Italorum Dictionario*, s.v.; Fabronium autem exscripsit A. Curione, *Sullo studio del greco in Italia nei secoli XVII e XVIII*, Biblioteca di studi classici, 1 (Roma, 1941), pp. 61-62.

anno 1585°/1586° audivit Horatium aliosque scriptores interpretantem (quod quidem Ponsevi ad Aldum data epistula testatur²), tum anno 1587° Pisas secutus esse videtur, quo ille a Francisco Mediceo, Magno Etruriae Duce, devocatus est qui publice profiteretur. Eo anno Iliados primum librum necnon Milonianam explicavit. Noster ea aetate Pisis certo certius versabatur; namque Februario et Martio mensibus testis aderat duorum iuvenum doctorum renuntiandorum³ idemque ob ingressum Pisas Ferdinandi I Magni Ducis lautissimum carmina fudit tum Graeca tum Latina, quae Fabronius quidem pili non faciebat, nos repperimus nulla⁴. Aliis poematis nobis ignotis allusit Iohannes Baptista Pinellius poeta Genuensis, Ponsevi, ni omnia fallunt, familiaris⁵.

Supersunt tamen pauca quae legi etiamnunc possint. Etenim anno 1588° Ponsevi poema de glorioso Christi ascensu, adiectis aliis nonnullis, e Bartholomaei Sermartelli typographeo Florentino prodibat. Item epigramma in Ugolinum Verinum nescio quo anno lusum typis est excusum⁶. Praeterea quattuor epigrammata inedita Mediolani in codicibus Ambrosianis adservantur⁷; in quibus cum Laelius Gavardus Pisanae rector Academiae laudetur, non est cur ea anno 1589° aut 1590° pacta esse non adfirmemus. Itaque Ponselius, liberalibus dum se dat artibus, Camenae interdum indulsit. Postea, anno nempe 1592°, et philosophiae et theologiae doctor evasit⁸. Unde victum dein quaesierit nescio; fortasse adolescentes domi erudiebat. Id utcumque est, quattuor annis post magnus ei honor creditus atque commissus est. Nam postquam Petrus ille Angelius poeta, Syriados et Cynegeticon (aliorum mitto) auctor, pridie Cal. Mart. anno 1596° vitam cum morte commutavit cum amplius annos quadraginta adolescentes litteras elegantiores edocuisset, pulpitem

² Cf. infra, *opuscula*, 4; de Aldo Manutio jre. vide i.a. quae scripsit L. Simeoni, *Storia dell'Università di Bologna*, vol. II (Bologna, 1940), pp. 42-47.

³ Sc. Claudii Monnani (in utroque iure) et Laurenti Docti (in philosophia et medicina): cf. R. Del Gratta, *o.c.*, pp. 253 et 383.

⁴ A. Fabronius, *o.c.*, p. 460; de Ferdinando Pisas ingrediente egit G.M. Mecatti, *Storia cronologica della città di Firenze o siano annali della Toscana* (...), vol. II (Napoli, 1755), pp. 773-774.

⁵ Cf. infra, *appendix*.

⁶ Cf. infra, *opuscula*, 1 (de ascensu) et 5 (in Verinum).

⁷ Cf. infra, *opuscula*, 2.

⁸ Cf. R. Del Gratta, *o.c.*, pp. 387 (die 3° m. Apr. in philosophia, promotoribus Andrea Cilsalpino (= Calsalpino, vulgo Cesalpino), Iulio Librio, aliis; testes omnes erant Florentini: Aloisius Burgius, M.A. Asinius, Iulius Masius et Alexander Sertinius (poeta Latinus, cf. G. Negri, *o.c.*, p. 24)) et 428 (die 28° m. Mai in theologia, promotoribus Prospero Rossetto et Laelio Mediceo, testibus Alexandro Mediceo et Bernardo Segnio Florentinis, et Cosmo Gallettio Pisano).

vacuefactum est Dominico Ponselio, quem Angelio familiaritate aliqua iunctum fuisse contendit Pinellius⁹. Unum igitur per annum academicum litteras Latinas et Graecas interpretatus est noster (1596/1597); quo explicabat Isocratis Orationem ad Demonicum et Aeneidos librum primum¹⁰.

Itaque Ponselius Kalendis Novembribus anno 1596^o prolusionem habuit academicam de scientiarum artiumque liberalium laudibus; huic duo subiunxit carmina, alterum de studiorum universitate Pisana eiusdemque excellentia, alterum in Bargaeum vita functum epicedion. Haec omnia, in unum collecta volumen, mox excudebat Philippus Iunta typographus Florentinus¹¹. Anno autem 1597^o mense Aprili Ponselius, cum sui Aldum Manutium meminisse comperisset, scribendi occasionem nactus, ad professorem quondam suum litteras admirationis plenas dedit; quibus adseveravit se in publice docendi munere haud ita gessisse, "ut iuvenilis eruditionis famam multum superaverim"¹². Atqui nostro perincommodum fortassis accidit, quod eo tempore, quo Angeli Bargaei nomen usque clarebat, in locum et vicem praeceptoris provolvit. Ut ut erat, docendi munus insequentem in annum non est prorogatum, Francisco Sanleonini Ponselii in locum succedente¹³.

Dominicus autem Ponselius, cum illum annum explevisset, nec quicquam panxisse neque uspiam docuisse videtur. Utrum inglorie vitam protraxerit an morbo nescio quo correptus perierit, plane ignoro. Nihil enim de eo comperi, nisi quod mense Quintili anno 1597^o iuvenem ad theologiae doctoris gradum promovit¹⁴.

Quae cum ita sint, reliquum est ut Ponselii opuscula, quae nobis quidem innotuere, singula universa foras edamus adnotatiunculisque instruamus. Ponselii autem scriptorum maior pars typis excusa, particula vero inedita; editorum autem mira difficultas; accedunt huc lectiones parum probabiles interdum exhibitae; postremo legentium oculos in Ponselium iterum coniciendos propterea existumavi, quod in carmine

⁹ De Angelio egere i.a. A. Asor-Rosa, "P. Angeli", in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 3 (Roma, 1961), pp. 201-204 et G. Manacorda, "Petrus Angelius Bargaeus (Pietro Angeli da Barga)", *Ann. R. Scuola Norm. Sup. Pisa*, 18 (1903), 1-131.

¹⁰ Cf. C.B. Schmitt, *o.c.*, p. 23 n. 13 (falso legitur *Oratio ad Demosthenem*). Gratias agimus Gulielmo McCuaig doctori nunc Pisano, quod tabularium Pisanum pro nobis adiit.

¹¹ Cf. *infra*, *opuscula*, 3.

¹² Cf. *infra*, *opuscula*, 4.

¹³ Cf. C.B. Schmitt, *o.c.*, p. 23 n. 13 (praenomen autem erat ei Francisco, non Antonio).

¹⁴ Cf. R. Del Gratta, *o.c.*, p. 437 (die 6^o m. Quint. Alexandrum de Regulis in theologia promovit).

eius maximo, quod de glorioso Christi ascensu scripsit, Aoni Paleari Verulani poema illud celeberrimum, c.t. *De animorum immortalitate libri tres*, luce clarius est imitatus; qua re Ponsevi versibus fortuna Paleari, poetae viribus multo maioris, quodam modo illustratur. In edendis autem Ponsevi lucubratiunculis orthographiae et interpunctionis normis obtemperavi hodiernis.

OPUSCULA PONSEVIANA

I

DE GLORIOSO CHRISTI ASCENSU DOMINICI PONSEVII CARMEN.
Cum licentia Superiorum. FLORENTIAE, apud Bartholomaeum Sermartellium. MDLXXXVIII.

Huiusce carminis exemplum quoddam rarissimum repperimus in Bibliotheca "Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II" Romana. Idem constat tribus ex partibus; prima enim de glorioso Christi ascensu carmen satis longum exhibet; altera brevior continetur, quod inscribitur "Eiusdem epopia in festum corporis Christi"; tertiam adoptivam dixerim, qua Ioannis Fontanii et Axiophyli Christoitii versiculi Ponsevi in laudem libro praeiungantur. Fontanius autem et Christoitius qui fuerint, minime liquet; priorem, cum Anglariensis dicatur, ex urbe vulgo 'Anghiari' appellata oriundum esse opinor potius quam ex urbe 'Angiari' Veneta; ceterum uterque vix poeta dicendus. Romanum autem, quo usi sumus, exemplar post epopiam habet adnotationem manu scriptam: "Aemilijo Vezosio Arretino hūc lhm (= *libellum*) dono dedit Auctor Pisis MDLXXXIIX"; agitur dubio procul de Aemilio Vezosio poeta Arretino, anno MDLXVII° nato, denato MDCXXXVII°, qui perpauca posteritati tradidit, epigramma nempe quoddam (cf. M. Messina in commentariis q.t. *Rinascimento*, I (1950), 306) et laudes in Aretium urbem. Eadem porro manu, qua et adnotatiuncula in ultima pagina erat scripta, errores aliquot typographici sunt emendati; quas emendationes Ponsevi autographas (ni fallimur) in apparatu nostro critico laudavimus.

In adnotandis carminibus siglum DAI posuimus pro Aoni Paleari Verulani de animorum immortalitate libris III (exeunte anno 1535° in lucem primum prolatis); porro verborum structuras interdum implicitas satisque obscuras hic illic explicuimus.

a. *Ioannes Fontanius Anglariensis ad Dominicum Ponsevium de eius carmine*

O lepido colere et culto cui carmine Musas
 sorte datur, querulam et sollicitare lyram,
 carmina missa mihi studio florente peracta
 perlegi altisonos esseque duco modos.
 Nete, deae, iuveni paulatim stamina, dico,
 aspirentque tibi numina magna precor.
 Ardua Parnassi liceat tibi culmina montis
 scandere et Aonii lambere fontis aquas.

5

5 Nete *correx*i: ne te ed. 8 Aonii *scripsi*: aonij ed.

3 cf. Boeth. *cons.* metr. 1,1: Carmina qui quondam studio florente peregi 6 cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3, 697: Iussi numina magna loci veneramur, et inde, etc.
 Versificatorem satis ineptum dixerim qui (v. 4) *-que* suffixerit syllabae in *-e* litteram brevem terminanti, dein verbi *duco* syllabam posteriorem breviarit, postremo (v. 5) verbum *dico* scripserit, nulla re praeter pedes complendos iubente.

b. *Eiusdem de ascensu Christi*

Nube Deus sectus vasti it sacra culmina Olympi;
 quae colit, ille petit; quae prius, ille tenet.

c. *Axiophyli Christoiti de eodem*

Aeterna, omnipotens, penetrans mortalia linquis,
 astrigeram et tendis tu super astra domum;
 quem vivum reddis moriens, quem deinde resurgens
 erigis, ut populum nunc via sacra beet.

d. *De glorioso Christi ascensu Dominici Ponsevii carmen*

Ad illustrissimum et reverendissimum Alexandrum Medicem S.R.E.
 cardinalem et archiepiscopum Florentinum

1

Inclyte, purpuree o praesul, quem limpidus Arnus
 et Tiberis summo pulcher honore colit,

2 Tiberis *scripsi*: Tyberis ed.

te mea Musa rogat, placeat tibi sumere fetum
 primum, nam sacrum carmina sacra decent;
 posthac tentabitque tuas attingere laudes, 5
 se a te cum primum senserit illa legi.

Alexander ille Mediceus, cui noster primitias misit suas (vv. 3-4) ut patrocinium quaereret, anno 1535° natus, 1573° episcopus Pistoriensis, 1574° archiepiscopus Florentinus est creatus; anno 1583° rubro galero est donatus. Kalendis Aprilibus anno 1605° P.M., nomine Leo XI, electus, obiit die 27° eiusdem mensis (cf. G. Schwaiger, "Leo XI", in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (...), 6 (Freiburg, 1961²), col. 952).

2

Sidereum ascensum nati omnipotentis alumni,
 quo sincera fides, crucifixi sacra propago,
 exultat felix gaudentque tonantia regna,
 aligeri divique chori, canere ignis adurit
 Pierius mentem. Sancto aspirate labori, 5
 oro, deae, vatum eximii, vos, quae estis honores;
 fas mihi caelitibus dignum nunc promere vestra
 carmen ope; expirent mea iam praecordia Phoebum
 et resonet mea parva chelys, qua attingere laudes
 extincta magni valeam de morte triumpho. 10

Postquam dura pii patuerunt saxa sepulchri,
 corpus ubi exanimus celsi rectoris Olympi
 luce fuit terna, et gelidam dimoverat umbram
 lux radians, lucis superas remeavit ad oras

6 eximii *correxit al.m.*: eximij ed.

1. Cf. DAI 1,1: Felices animae, caeli omnipotentis alumni.
2. *Propago*: anceps est prima syllaba huiusce vocis.
4. Cf. Hor. *carm.* 1,27,14-16: Quae te cumque domat Venus/ non erubescendis adurit/ignibus.
5. Cf. DAI 1,18: Munera vos facite et sancto aspirate labori.
6. *Oro*: ultima syllaba et hic et alibi breviatur.
7. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2, 157: Fas mihi Graiorum sacrata resolvere iura.
9. Cf. *Ad Medicem*, 5: Posthac tentabitque tuas attingere laudes.
12. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 11,30: Corpus ubi exanimi positum Pallantis Acoetes.
- 13-14. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 11,210: Tertia lux gelidam caelo dimoverat umbram.

noster Christus amor, mundi melioris origo. 15
 Noluit extemplo stellantes tendere ad arces,
 olli sed placuit post tristia sabbata in orbe
 stare dies aliquos, comites ut cernere possent
 divinos reditus expectatumque triumphum,
 diceret haec mea magna fides: "Timor omnis abesto; 20
 o socii, revocate animum Dominumque magistrum
 spectetis; fugiant mentes nunc esse labantes;
 aspicite, o timidi, et synagoga immersa tenebris,
 ora manusque ambas, specta, o dilecta propago,
 percussum corpus populataque viscera ferro", 25
 et sanctos vigilare viros praecepta doceret,
 pacem optare manu, pacem praedicere semper.
 Non semel apparuit firmo cum corde, priusquam
 crederet esse suum Christum duodena reversum
 turba, opus ut reditum claris ostendere signis 30
 esset divino regi caligine caeca
 discipulis mersis, mundo tenebrisque sepulto.

15. Cf. Ov. *met.* 1, 79: Ille opifex rerum, mundi melioris origo.

17. Cf. Sedul. *Carm. Pasch.* 5,315: Coeperat interea post tristia sabbata felix.

19. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 11,54: Hi nostri reditus expectatique triumphus?

20. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 11,55: Haec mea magna fides?

Cf. Iuvenc. 3,107: Tum pavidis Christus loquitur: Timor omnis abesto; Prud. *c.Symm.* 2,737: Ingenuum se nosse puer, timor omnis abesto; Vida *Christ.* 4,420: Iam nunc pulsa mei cesset? Timor omnis abesto; Verg. *Aen.* 11,14: Maxima res effecta, viri: timor omnis abesto.

21. - *O socii*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,197 et al.

- *revocate animum*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,202: Experti, revocate animos.

- *Dominumque magistrum*: cf. Prud. *ham.* 720: Nunc inter vitae dominum mortisque magistrum.

24. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6,496: Ora manusque ambas populataque tempora raptis.

25. Cf. Ov. *met.* 8,532: Exegit poenas acto per viscera ferro; *am.* 1, 10, 51: E quibus exierat, traiecit viscera ferro.

26. Cf. Ov. *trist.* 2,461: Nullaque dat furti talis praecepta docetque.

16-27. Structura: Noluit tendere, sed illi placuit stare, ut comites cernere possent et ut haec mea fides diceret et ut doceret viros vigilare praecepta, i.e. pacem optare et praedicere.

28-32. Structura: Duodena turba non apparuit priusquam crederet Christum esse reversum, ita ut regi opus esset reditum ostendere discipulis, mersis caligine, et mundo, sepulto tenebris.

29. *Duodena*: numero singulari, ut saepius apud poetas Christianos.

31. *Caligine caeca*: locutio trita (Lucr. 4, 456, etc.; DAI 1, 47, etc.).

32. Cf. DAI 1,213: Mens sibi caeca potest densisque sepulta tenebris.

Iamque Galilaeos superaverat anxia montes,
 dum servat documenta sui sacra turba magistri;
 obuius ecce Deus stellata in veste coruscans, 35
 auro intertexta et gemmis, manibusque deorum
 arte laborata egregie (mirabile dictu),
 fit divis, reditus sancti expectantibus horas;
 omnia divino fulget quo lumine complet,
 qualis sol radiis rutilum fulgentibus orbem 40
 Oceano exoriens reddit fugientibus astris.
 Tunc Dominum socii stupere: per agmina murmur
 serpit et incipiunt inter se talia fari:
 "Suspisor esse Deum", "Ignoro" dicebat et alter;
 ille ait: "Hunc teneo nostrum certe esse magistrum"; 45
 hic dicit: "Cognosco manus, cognosco sacratum
 ipse caput; monstrant sua verba sonantia verum."
 Longisque veluti cum quisque advenit ab oris,
 sit terris multum vasto iactatus et alto,
 ignorant socii illum miranturque sodales, 50
 ast ubi cuncta suis memorat quae gesserat ante,
 conatur certo nosci et breve tempore signo,
 dignoscunt omnesque suis dant oscula labris,
 amplexuque dato convertunt crimen in annos

33-34. Cf. Iuvenc. 4,783-784: Iamque Galilaeos conscenderat anxia montes/
 mandatis Christi concurrens turba suorum.

35-37. Cf. DAI 3,654-656: Tum chlamydem cuique auratam, quam ferre mani-
 plos/ iusserat, expediet, dona omnipotentis Olympi,/ arte laboratam egregie
 manibusque deorum.

37. *Mirabile dictu*: locutio trita (Verg. *Aen.* 2,174 et al.).

39-41. Structura: Reditus sancti (Christus) omnia complet lumine divino, quo
 fulget, sicuti sol, exoriens, dum fugiunt astra, orbem reddit rutilum.

39. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3,645: Tertia iam lunae se cornua lumine complent; Iuvenc.
 3,272: Christus, magnifico terras qui lumine comples.

42-43. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12,239: Iam magis atque magis, serpitque per agmina
 murmur.

46-47. Cf. Sannaz. *part. Virg.* 1,183-184: Caelicolae: nosco crineis, nosco ora
 manusque,/ verbaque et aligerum caeli haud variantis alumnum.

48. *Longisque*: ultima syllaba irrationaliter producitur.

49. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,3: Litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto.

52. *Breve*: ablativo casu. Eodem modo semel, ni fallor, apud antiquos (cf. *Anth.*
Lat., ed. Riese, num. 480, 2: Hunc contra pariambus erit, gemina breve iunctus).

immiscentque manus manibus, iuvat usque morari 55
 et conferre gradum, multum gaudentque videntes:
 sic etiam noscunt sua post miracula Christum
 esse Deum, tristi de quo cum corde volutant
 multaque dura suo, fractum templumque novandum,
 victorem interea mortis novere fideles. 60
 Praecipue et fractus fecit dignoscere panis.
 Tunc tollunt laete iunctas ad sidera palmas,
 robore suffulti fidei sua pectora divae:
 "Reddimus, o rerum", dicunt, "veneranda potestas,
 tot tibi nos grates quot fulgent lumina caelo." 65
 Et supplex regem sanctus chorus omnis adorat
 ac promunt tales laeto de pectore voces:
 "Alme magister amor, victa qui morte triumphas,
 nostra salus, divae spes tu certissima vitae,
 per varias trahebatur mens iam nescia partes; 70
 dura quidem solido fabricata adamante fatemur
 pectora duritie, quam non Marpesia cautes
 aut hiemale gelu, marmor vel vincere possent.
 Obruit has adeo pulvis densissima mentes,
 Christe potens, fugerent tua nos monumenta, Iesus. 75
 Montibus aereis pede per loca trita ferarum

68 *victa correxit al.m.*: vita ed. 72 *Marpesia scripsi*: marpesia ed.

55. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5,429: *Immiscentque manus manibus pugnamque lacessunt.*
 55-56. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6,486-487: *Nec vidisse semel satis est, iuvat usque morari/
 et conferre gradum et veniendi discere causas.*

62. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9,16-17: *Agnovit iuvenis duplicesque ad sidera palmas/
 sustulit; Sannaz. part. Virg.* 2,79: *Nunc laetus tollit dupliceis ad sidera palmas.*

66. Cf. Iuvenc. 4,786: *Illum procumbens sancte chorus omnis adorat.*

70. *Trahebatur*: syllabam alteram usurpavit poeta irrationalem, nisi a et e in
 unum coaluit sonum.

71. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6,552: *Porta adversa ingens solidoque adamante columnae.*

72. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6,471: *Quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes.*

74. *Pulvis*: nonnumquam generis feminini (ut apud Prop. 1, 22, 6).

75. *Iesus*: praestabat *Iesu* (vocativo casu), nisi genetivus voci *monumentis* appo-
 nitur, quod equidem minus probarim.

fugerent: omissa particula *ut*: quod et antiqui inderdum admiserunt.

76. Cf. Lucr. 1,927-928 (loca nullius ante/ trita solo) et DAI 1,16-17 (Vestra ego
 fretus ope, ingredior loca nullius ante/ trita pede).

et circa undisoni fremitus per littora ponti
 nos dubii lachrimis deplorabamus obortis,
 nulla erat et nobis praebendi cura quietem,
 sed Domini, terras trifido qui fulmine terret; 80
 nunc Maria verum casta de virgine natum,
 maiestate triplex, colimus te numen in una.
 Tu caeli fabricator ades, tu conditor orbis,
 tu maris undisonas fluctu surgente procellas
 mergere lata vetas imae confinia terrae, 85
 tu Phoebum radiis, Lucinam cornibus imple;
 annum labentem quae ducunt lumina caelo
 sidera tu numeras, quorum tu nomina solus,
 signa, potestates nosti variosque meatus.
 Omnipotens, solus potuisti infundere formas 90
 corporibus primis, Titan Latonia proles
 in quibus exercet sua iura, ac aurea Phoebe;
 per te plantarum omne genus, per te omne ferarum
 exoritur; nova forma viri, pulcherrima rerum,
 vultum et terga tibi similis mentemque creatur; 95
 erectus placuit tollatur ad aethera vultus;
 huic iuveni medio in spatio iam noctis opacae
 (magnum opus) omnipotens costas et viscera nudas,
 eripiens unam, magnum et mirabile donum

91 Latonia *scripsi*: latonia ed.

80. *Domini*: sc. erat cura.

Fulmine terret: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,229-230: O qui res hominumque deumque/
 aeternis regis imperiis et fulmine terres.

83-95. Cf. Sedul. *carm. pasch.* 1,60-68: Omnipotens, aeterne Deus, spes unica
 mundi,/ qui caeli fabricator ades, qui conditor orbis,/ qui maris undisonas fluctu
 surgente procellas/ mergere vicinae prohibes confinia terrae,/ qui solem radiis et
 lunam cornibus imple,/ inque diem ac noctem lumen metiris utrumque,/ qui
 stellas numeras, quorum tu nomina solus,/ signa, potestates, cursus, loca,
 tempora nosti,/ qui diversa novam formasti in corpora terram.

89. Cf. Lucr. 5,774: Solis ut varios cursus lunaeque meatus.

91. Cf. DAI 1,547: Corporibus primis se miscet luce paritque.

96. Cf. Ov. *met.* 1,85-86: Os homini sublime dedit caelumque videre/ iussit et
 erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.

97. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8, 658: Defensi tenebris et dono noctis opacae.

99. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6, 652: Extulerat, matris Ladae mirabile donum.

efficis: extemplo laterum compagibus auctis 100
 processit facie et niveo cum pectore virgo.
 'Vivite felices ambo per florea rura,
 fortunatorum nemorum viridantia prata;'",
 dicis, "frugifera haec per se dabit omnia tellus:
 mora rubeta ferent montanaque fraga rubebunt, 105
 flumina decurrent gelidis argentea lymphis,
 ibunt et lactis nivei, ibunt nectaris amnes,
 stillabunt viridi dulcissima ab arbore mella,
 cum placidis Zephyris ver aeternumque manebit.
 At moneo vos, hoc animis advertite vestris: 110
 in nemoris medio est ramis felicibus arbor,
 audebit qua si quisquam decerpere fetus,
 poenas morte luet merita (mirabile dictu).
 Fortunati ambo, divini gloria ruris
 si vos tangetque aeternum vivetis in aevum.' 115
 Labitur exiguum (miseri!) irreparabile tempus;

102. *Vivite felices*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2,493: Vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta.

Florea rura: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,430: Qualis apes aestate nova per florea rura; Sannaz. *part. Virg.* 2,27: Cessat atrox Boreas: tantum per florea rura; cf. etiam infra, v. 121.

103. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6,639: Fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas.

104. Cf. Ov. *met.* 1,102: Saucia vomeribus; per se dabat omnia tellus.

105. Cf. Ov. *met.* 1,104-105: Arbuteos fetus montanaque fraga legebant/ cornaque et in duris haerentia mora rubetis.

107-108. Cf. Ov. *met.* 1,111-112: Flumina iam lactis, iam flumina nectaris ibant/ flavaque de viridi stillabant ilice mella.

109. Cf. Ov. *met.* 1,107-108: Ver erat aeternum placidique tepentibus auris/ mulcebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores.

104-109. Cf. etiam DAI 3,524-529: Non adeo mixtum magnis Aquilonibus imbrem,/ non Austrum metuent nati sine semine flores;/ non glacialis hiems, non intolerabilis aestas/ aurea surgentis vertent bona tempora saeculi/ ver erit aeternum atque eadem clementia caeli/ semper erit.

112. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6,141: Auricomos quam quis decerpserit arbore fetus.

113. Cf. Ov. *met.* 8,698 (meritasque luet vicinia poenas) et *trist.* 2,620 (poenas.../ morte luas).

114. *Fortunati ambo*: Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9,446: Fortunati ambo! Si quid mea carmina possunt.

divini ruris: cf. Verg. *georg.* 1,168: Si te digna manet divini gloria ruris.

116. *Irreparabile tempus*: cf. Verg. *georg.* 3,284 et *Aen.* 10,467.

ecce inimicus atrox, expansis orbibus anguis
 septem ingens gyros versans frondente pependit
 arbore et invidia scelerisque dolive relinquit
 nil intemptatum, vetiti dulcedine pomi 120
 decipiat donec per florea rura parentes.
 Gustarunt postquam linquenda ex arbore fructus,
 amittunt liquidos fontes, caelestia dona,
 diffugiunt silvas, in concava saxa, cavernas,
 et miseros taedet caeli convexa tueri; 125
 dant victum in lucis Bacchae lapidosaque corna
 ambobus, vulsis pascunt radicibus herbae.
 Arguis, omnipotens, verbis tu talibus Evan:
 'Femina, causa mali tanti, o saevissima coniux,
 quid tibi pro scelere et quid pro tam turpibus ausis 130
 poenae erit? In campis surget paliurus acutis
 spinis cum tribulis et fallax herba veneni;

119 *scelerisque* *correx*i: *scelerique* ed. 126 *corna* *correxit al.m.*: *cora* ed.

117. *Ecce...atrox*: Cf. Verg. *georg.* 1,407: *Ecce inimicus atrox magno stridore per auras.*

orbibus anguis: Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2,204: (*Horresco referens*) *immensis orbibus angues.*

118. *Septem gyros*: Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5,85: *Septem ingens gyros, septena volumina traxit.*

frondente pependit: Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7,67: *Examen subitum ramo frondente pependit.*

120. *nil intemptatum*: cf. Hor. *ars* 285: *Nil intemptatum nostri liquere poetae.*

vetiti dulcedine pomi: Cf. Sedul. *carm. pasch.* 1,70: *Qui pereuntem hominem vetiti dulcedine pomi.*

123. *Liquidos fontes*: Cf. Verg. *georg.* 4,18: *At liquidi fontes et stagna virentia musco.*

caelestia dona: Cf. Verg. *georg.* 4,41: *Protinus aerii mellis caelestia dona.*

124. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5,677: *Diffugiunt silvasque et sicubi concava furtim.*

125. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4,452: *Mortem orat; taedet caeli convexa tueri.*

126-127. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3,649-650: *Victum infelicem, bacas lapidosaque corna/dant rami et vulsis pascunt radicibus herbae.*

129. *Causa mali tanti*: Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6,94 et 11,480.

130. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2,535: *At tibi pro scelere, exclamat, pro talibus ausis.*

131. Cf. Verg. *ecl.* 5,40: *Carduos et spinis surgit paliurus acutis (inde et Secul. carm. pasch. 1,279).*

132. Cf. Verg. *ecl.* 4,25: *Occidit et serpens et fallax herba veneni.*

non inarata feret tellus mox tritici acervos;
 nunc glacialis hiems veniet, calida ignibus aestas,
 nec erit hic vobis tantorum meta laborum; 135
 omne nefas terris, virtute cadente, vigebit;
 nunc pulchrae vasto insultabunt aequore pinus,
 effodientur opes mundi, quae causa ruinae;
 hinc homines raptu vivent, horrentia terris
 bella gerentur, erit non hospes ab hospite tutus: 140
 fraternae mundum foedabunt sanguine mortes;
 ultro etiam tendent nec mens agitata quiescet:
 temptabunt altum Pygmaei irrumpere caelum,
 credentes summi sceptrum violare tonantis;
 beluarum formas commutabuntur in omnes, 145
 errabunt silvis, errabunt montibus altis
 nec noscent (hos tanta animos dementia ludet)
 factorem rerum, volucresque bovesque, dracones
 semihominemque canem, ligna et lapidesque colendo.' 150
 Interea, o rector caelique timenda potestas,
 tu scelera haec tollis graviter commotus, ab alto
 aethere te mittis tellurem et fundis in undas;
 diluvium sternit sata laeta bovumque labores,

134 *glacialis* *correx*it *al.m.*: *gracialis* ed. 143 *Pygmaei scripsi*: *pygmaei* ed.

134. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3,285: Et glacialis hiems aquilonibus aspirat undis (inde et DAI 3,526 et al.).

136. Cf. Ov. *met.* 1,129: Omne nefas, fugere pudor verumque fidesque.

137. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10,206: Mincius infesta ducebat in aequora pinu.

138. Cf. Ov. *met.* 1,140: Effodiuntur opes, inritamenta malorum.

139. Cf. Ov. *met.* 1,144: Vivitur ex raptu; non hospes ab hospite tutus.

140. Cf. v. 139.

141. Cf. Ov. *met.* 1,145: Non socer a genero; fratrum quoque gratia rara est.

145. *Beluarum*: prosodiace *bēlvarum* (per diaeresin).

146. *Errabunt silvis*: Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7,491: Errabat silvis rursusque ad limina nota.

montibus altis: Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8,321: Is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis, et al.

147-149. Cf. Sedul. *carm. pasch.* 1,247-249: Quis furor est, quae tanta animos dementia ludit/ ut volucrem turpemque bovem, tortumque draconem/ semihominemque canem supplex homo plenus adoret?

151. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,126: Stagna refusa vadis, graviter commotus et alto.

153. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2,306: Sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores (*bovum*, i.q. *boum*, cf. F. Neue- C. Wagener, *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*, 1 (Leipzig, 1902³), p. 426).

dat genus omne neci pecudum et cava flumina crescunt.
 At pietate gravi ac meritis salvatur in arca 155
 ille senex, genus unde novae revocatur in orbem
 humanae prolisque, simul genus omne animantum.
 Sed cur quae celebrat tellus testatur et aether,
 nos tibi, Christe potens, memoramus? Tu omnia nosti,
 humanam in gentem eximium ut meditemur amorem 160
 caelestis regis, noscas animumque senatus.
 Non tua dicemus, mundi, consulta, redemptor,
 virgineum partum et mortis saevaeque dolores:
 haec almae quondam cantarunt gesta Sibyllae,
 divini vates, tua qui commercia caeli 165
 noverunt, dulci modulantes pectine laudes.
 Attamen, alme pater, nos non linquemus ovantem
 dicere, quem sequimur, Dominum nostrumque magistrum,
 extincta morte ad superos spectasse reversum,
 et novisse virum populis terrisque superbum, 170
 semine ab aethereo, famam qui terminat astris.”
 His demum dictis, intenti sacra tenebant
 ora senes, oculis observant lumina Christi
 luce metalla suo et splendore hebetantia gemmas,

159 Christe potens *correx*it *al.m.*: Christipotens ed. 164 Sibyllae *scripsi*: sybillae ed.
 167 nos *addidit al.m.*: *omisit* ed. 171 famam *proposui*: fama ed.

154. *Dat...pecudum*: Cf. Verg. *georg.* 3,480: Et genus omne neci pecudum dedit, omne ferarum.

cava...crescunt: Cf. Verg. *georg.* 1,326: Diluit; implentur fossae et cava flumina crescunt.

155. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,151: Tum pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem.

156. *Senex*: Noa.

157. Cf. Lucr. 1,4: Concelebras, per te quoniam genus omne animantum.

160. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4,171: Nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem.

163. *Virgineum partum*: Cf. Sannaz. *part. Virg.* 1,1: Virginei partus magnoque aequaevis parenti.

saevaeque dolores: Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,25: Necdum etiam causae irarum saevique dolores.

170. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2,556: Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum.

171. *Semine ab aethereo*: Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7,281: Semine ab aethereo spirantis naribus ignem.

famam...astris: Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,287: Imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris.

172. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2,1: Conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant.

spectantur veluti radii vagantibus ignes	175
noctivagi nitido discussis nubibus axe.	
Alloquitur Dominus caeli, cui sidera parent:	
“Gens electa mihi, o tantum dilecte senatus,	
quae vobis, comites o terque quaterque beati,	
praemia pro vestris, pro magnis laudibus istis	180
quae solvam? Scio, quae vobis dona paravi:	
est locus in medio regni stellantis Olympi	
spiritibus divis: requies ea certa laborum;	
tempora sunt ibi aethereis cingenda coronis	
vestra; Dei magni caelo terraque potentis	185
aspectus rutilus claro in splendore manebit,	
vos pedibusque meae stellas calcabitis aulae,	
felicem mecum, aeternam vitamque beatam	
ducetis. Modicum terris spectare licebit	
me vobis; properat remeandi tempus ad astra.	190
Sunt mea servanda, o socii, sacra iussa, fideles:	
quae vobis monimenta dedi, observate; rogoque,	
perpetua haec maneant fraterni vincula amoris;	
stet pacis, moneo, vestrae inviolabile pignus;	
sit vobis alta semper sub mente repostum	195
debita, quod, propriae contempto laudis honore,	
laus et honor Domino reddatur, gloria vestro.	
Non auri fulgor, non vos solacia mundi	
delectent: tantum regi servire tonanti,	
hae sunt divitiae, finem bona habentia nullum.	200
Este viri fortique animo parere parati	

181 quae... paravi ed.: *an* Scio iam... *vel* vobis iam dona... *legendum*? 201 fortique *correx*it *al.m.*: forcique ed.

175. *Vagantibus*: prima syllaba irrationabiliter producta.

177. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10,176: Cui pecudum fibrae, caeli cui sidera parent.

179. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,94: Talia voce refert: o ter quaterque beati.

181. *Scio*: prior syllaba irrationabiliter producta.

dona paravi: Cf. Verg. *ecl.* 6,79: Quas illi Philomela dapes, quae dona paravit.

182. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7,563: Est locus Italiae medio sub montibus altis.

183. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3, 393: Is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum.

194. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 11,363: Turne, simul pacis solum inviolabile pignus.

195. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,26: Exciderant animo; manet alta mente repostum.

legibus aeternis pro me tolerate labores;
 dulce iugum Christi, levia haec sunt pondera nostra.
 Pascite oves, iubeoque gregem defendere sanctum:
 augescat gignatque bonos laeto ubere fetus. 205
 Vos Erebi reserate fores, vos pandite Olympum,
 nomine vosque meo munitos daemones astu
 pelletis, morbosque graves, contagia dira
 arcetis; remeare animas in corpora vobis
 efficere aetherei regis virtute licebit, 210
 ac ingens toto fulgebit in orbe potestas
 vestra. Eritis post me quolibet sermone potentis;
 imbuet ora calor, descendens sanctus ab aula
 siderea, sacro ingeniique exhibit ab ore
 vena, solent vasto dilabi ut gurgite lymphae; 215
 doctrinae populosa seges florebit amore
 ignis divini, ignis, qui pia pectora nutrit.
 Intrepidi mundi partes ergo ite per omnes,
 verum iter ad caelum gentesque docete: sonorae
 vos estote tubae regis dominantis Olympo, 220
 vos celebrate diu, mea vos perfundite verba;
 clarum estis mundi lumen, salis esse saporem
 discite vos terrae; vultu taxate severo
 crimina; mando sacro populos in fonte lavari;
 et mundum vacuate malis, dispergite sanctis 225
 iusque meum monitis omni gentique verendum;
 non pelagi fluctus terrae tot adire pericla
 vos turbet, non vos ictus cum morte cruenta:
 non animas possunt, sed corpora tradere morti;
 pro vobis certator ero; timor omnis abesto; 230
 non clipei, galeae, non enses telave desunt
 divinae fideique quibus pugnatur in armis;

204. Cf. Verg. *ecl.* 1,45: Pascite ut ante boves, pueri; summittite tauros.

205. Cf. Verg. *ecl.* 3,30: Bis venit ad multram, binos alit ubere fetus.

212. *Quolibet*: prima syllaba irrationaliter abbreviata.

215. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9,23: Processit summoque hausit de gurgite lymphas.

224. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7,489: Pectebatque ferum puroque in fonte lavabat.

227. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,10: Insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores.

231. Cf. Ov. *epist.* 13, 147: Exuet haec reduci clipeum galeamque resolvat.

post longum bellum, post tristia funera palmam
victores laeti superas portabitis arces.”
Haec ubi dicta pio divae dedit ore catervae 235
omnipotens rerumque, hominum sator atque deorum,
pinguia olivarum sancto quae proxima monti,
Bethaniae mox arva petit, cui gratia nomen
dat Domini; haec quondam fratrem maestaeque sororis
surgentem vidit rediviva in lumina vitae. 240
Bisseni proceres, semper quorum aurea canam
caesariem et sanctam vincunt diademata frontem,
nec non more suo Christo praeunte sequuntur,
auditurque melos superas resonare per auras,
aligeri in gyros acti ducuntque choreas, 245
et rident colles, pingunt violaria campos;
undique fronde nemus, laetantur murmure rauco
flumina, dissultant pisces in gurgite vasto,
silvicolae gentes gaudent, animalia quaeque,
silva comis plaudit, resonant virgulta susurro 250
dulce avium, regi caelesti dicere laudes
omnia tumque student magnos et reddere honores.
Electo interea omnipotens collique propinquat,
assistit largaque manu benedicere sacra
cuncta creata placet, mundum dum conspicit, illi. 255
His actis, rutilo fulgentia lumina caelo
tollit et aethereas sedes, mirante senatu,

239 *maestaeque scripsi*: *maestaeque* ed.

233. Cf. Verg. *georg.* 4,256: Exportant tectis et tristia funera ducunt.

235. *Haec ubi dicta*: Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8, 175 et al.

236. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,254: Olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum.

239. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12,682: Perque hostes, per tela ruit maestamque sororem. - *Que* nimis postponitur (= *et haec*). Agitur de Lazaro.

240. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6,828: Heu quantum inter se bellum, si lumina vitae.

241-242. Cf. DAI 3,597-598: Bisseni excipient proceres, quorum aurea canam/caesariem et levem cingent diademata frontem.

246. Cf. Sedul. *carm. pasch.* 1,278: Lilia, purpurei neu per violaria campi.

248. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,118: Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.

250. Cf. Verg. *georg.* 2,328: Avia tum resonant avibus virgulta canoris.

256-259. *Structura verborum*: Tollit lumina et tendit (in) aetherias sedes, dum miratur senatus apostolicus (qui meruit) et dum angelica caterva comitatur.

qui tantum meruit felix spectare triumphum,
 tendit, apostolico, angelica comitante caterva;
 astra caput cingunt et corpus clauditur auro; 260
 tranantes radiant gemmis divae aera plantae;
 infert se saeptus nebula, quae lilia longe
 et candore nives superabat, lumine lunam;
 ascendit victor mortis stellantia claustra.
 O genus humanum, o quae felicissima proles, 265
 hostis tartarei spoliū, super aethera scandis;
 te Deus omnipotens, qui debellare superbum
 Luciferum venit, quem dira morte subactum
 et ferro vinctum arduos detrusit in ignes,
 in caelum ducit; qui nunc, terrena relinquens 270
 tecta, volans penetrat sublimia culmina Olympi,
 qualis praepetibus pennis solet armiger axem
 ille Iovis petere et praedam meditetur adunco
 rostro, illam pedibus retinens vel portet acutis.
 Ascensus felix, o spes tutissima nostri 275
 Eliae, aereus, non quondam ascensus et Enoch
 es: solus mortem superas tu, distulit ille!
 Non curru ascendit Dominus subvectus in altum,
 sed virtute sua, quae implet terramque polumque!
 Tum rerum genitor solio sic mandat ab alto: 280
 "Pendantur caeli portae; ad sublime tribunal

259. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2,40: Primus ibi ante omnis magna comitante caterva.

265. *Genus humanum*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,542 et al.

266. *Super aethera*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,379 et al.

267. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6,853: Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

272. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6,15: Praepetibus pennis ausus se credere caelo (inde et DAI 1,292).

273. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9,564: Sustulit alta petens pedibus Iovis armiger uncis.

276. *Enoch*: cum perfectissimam egisset vitam, mortem non est passus, verum in paradisum translatus; prior syllaba, ut in nominibus biblicis saepe solet, anceps. De Enoch agit i.a. Vulg. *Hebr.* 11,5.

Eliae: propheta mortem non passus, de quo videsis Vulg. *III reg.* 17 sqq.

279. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2,251: Involvens umbra magna terramque polumque.

280. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 11,301: Praefatus divo solio rex infit ab alto.

281. Cf. DAI 3, 586: Pendantur caeli portae et stipante caterva.

accedant omnes, magnis qui anfractibus orbes
 ingentes volvunt, qui versicoloribus alis
 aethera tranantes liquidum inter sidera regnant.”
 Tollitur interea clamor, mugitibus aether 285
 insonat, ingenti sonitu reboavit Olympus.
 Qualis prorumpens dum nube extinguitur ignis
 in gelida et densa, tonitrus strepitu impleat orbem,
 occurrunt animae maiori a corpore regi.
 Cetera agit circum aeterno quod corpora motu, 290
 terminat hoc luci divinoque undique amor.
 Hic sedes augusta Dei, hic requiesque piorum.
 Stat pater in medio ac astat sapientia dextra,
 laeva amor et solio insunt haec tria numina in uno.
 Sub plantis natura manet tempusque locusque 295
 est, anceps Fortuna et tam variabilis ordo;
 subsequitur moles, alios quae continet orbes,
 ex quibus ad Domini tendunt sacra limina templi
 caelicolae et iussis gaudent parere tonantis;
 Signa stupentque novos hos scintillantia motus, 300
 quae in Boream vergunt udumque feruntur in Austrum,
 qui prima radiant ignes miro ordine mole;
 mirantur tacito labentia sidera mundo.
 Et primum senior referens spolia inclita monstri
 Aegoceronteï annoso Saturnus amictu 305
 fulget, Achaemenio qui laetus Iuppiter arcu,
 armatus galea Mavors gladioque micanti,
 fons lucis, sol auricomus, qui opera omnia lustrat,

299 iussis *correx*i: iugis *ed.*
 nio *scripsi*: achemenio *ed.*

304 monstri *correx*i: mostri *ed.*

306 Achaeme-

282-283. Cf. DAI 1,1-4: Felices animae, caeli omnipotentis alumni,/ astrorum decus et qui versicoloribus alis/ aethera tranatis liquidum, qui sidera quique/ volvit ingentes magnis anfractibus orbes.

284-285. Cf. DAI 3,584-585: Insonuere tubae et magnis mugitibus aether/ terribilique omnis sonitu reboavit Olympus.

296. *Variabilis*: vox infimae Latinitatis.

303. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3,515: Sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia caelo.

305. *Aegoceronteus*: novum est nomen adiectivum!

308. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4,607: Sol qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras.

hinc Venus, auratis sua terga armata sagittis;
 aliger ille deum radiosi Argique necator; 310
 post rapidis vehitur bigis quae virgo triformis:
 unanimes adeunt omnes, stant agmine longo,
 aurea tecta Dei atque alacres praecepta capessunt.
 Tum rector superum partes se vertit in omnes:
 fulgentes acies cernit pulchrasque phalanges, 315
 quae tantum signant oculis per sidera regem.
 “O superi, quae certa manet sententia menti
 aspiciate”, ille inquit; “volui ad sublime tribunal
 venisse, o proceres. Nam vos occurrere mecum
 debetis (scitote) meo caelestia nato 320
 regna ascendenti: salvavit sanguine gentem
 humanam ipse suo primam patriamque revisit
 morte ferens victa longo certamine palmam.
 Ergo agitate animis omnes opibusque parati,
 dilectae sobolis tantum celebrate triumphum 325
 et mecum properate, viri, de more iubenti.”
 Talibus omnipotens nutu concussit Olympum;
 de solio radianti auroque imitante pyropo
 flammis insigni assurgit rex maximus orbis;
 innumera circum egreditur stipante caterva 330
 ordine composito; tolluntur signa tubaeque
 clangorem emittunt; acies ardentibus alis
 se accingunt; passim sese explicuere cohortes
 hac illac; quadrato fortis in agmine quisque
 stat; legionibus ire iubet, sua castra moveri 335
 frontibus aequatis caeli moderator et orbis.

330 *egreditur correxist al.m.*: egredietur ed. 332 *clangorem scripsi*: clancorem ed.

310. *Argique necator*: Argum, Ius custodem undique oculatum, leto dedit Hermes sive *Mercurius*.

312. *Agmine longo*: Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5,90 et 10,769 (inde saepius in DAI).
unanimes: i.q. unanimi.

329. Cf. DAI 1,409: Ingens luce sua magni dux maximus astri.

331. Cf. DAI 3,588: Ordine composito et praeferri signa iubebit.

333. Cf. DAI 3,591: Et passim hac illac sese explicuere cohortes.

334. Cf. DAI 3,589: Mox ubi quadrato fortis stetit agmine quisque.

335. Cf. DAI 3,587-588: Innumera rex egressus, legionibus ire/ ... iubebit.

336. Cf. DAI 3,592: Frontibus aequatis, rex ardua castra movebit.

Hinc inde arma micant splendetque exercitus omnis,
 et chlamydes radiant auro viridique smaragdo,
 ineptumque sequuntur iter. Iam cernere ovantem
 ad limen caeli exoptant hominemque Deumque. 340
 Interea incipiunt lumen spectare refulgens
 cum nitidis radiis regni in regione serena.
 At pater omnipotens tranantem sidera natum
 conspicit, his placidis verbis fitque obvius illi:
 "Nate mihi dilecte, veni, mea tu unica proles: 345
 quam te hilari amplexu accipio, quam pectore toto!"
 Haec ille atque ori oscula dat dulcissima sancto,
 coniungit dextram dextrae gaudetque videre
 divinam sobolem humana cum veste meantem.
 Ingreditur summus caeli aurea tecta redemptor 350
 dextrorsum incedens; canus pater inter utrumque,
 flammantemque focum et redeuntem ad sidera Christum;
 et pariter caeli aeterna in penetralia tendunt;
 agmina cuncta gradu placidoque sequuntur honorem.
 Laetitia exultant omnes, longo ordine pompam 355
 caelicolae ducunt, regis meditantur amorem,
 effigiem agnoscunt longo iam tempore visam,
 numina cum primum sedes tenuere superbas.
 Una omnes ad regem versi immota beati
 ora tenent: natum complexibus implicat artis, 360

337 arma *correx*it *al.m.*: armi ed. 347 oscula *scripsi*: obscula ed. 348 (et 351)
 dextram *scripsi*: dextram ed.

338. Cf. DAI 3,647-648: Ergo agite, intertextum auro viridique smaragdo/
 singlatim chlamyden accipite et mea sumite dona.
 340. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,229: Alloquitur Venus: o qui res hominumque deumque.
 342. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8,528: Arma inter nubem caeli in regione serena.
 343. *At pater omnipotens*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6,592 et al.
 345-346. Cf. DAI 3,669-670: O quantam mihi tu et qualem, dulcissime, gentem,/ *nate*,
refers, quam hilare accipio, quam pectore toto!
 347. Cf. DAI 3,671: Haec ille atque omnes intra aurea tecta vocabit.
 355. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12,700: Laetitia exultans, horrendumque intonat armis.
 357. Cf. DAI 3,664-665: Agnoscent procures longo iam tempore visam/ *effigiem*.
 359-361. Cf. DAI 3,690-693: Ergo ubi sedatus tandem sitientibus ardor,/ una
 omnes ad patrem versi immota tenebunt/ lumina dum natum complexibus
 implicat artis,/ dum treis ante torum caelestibus excitat aras.

ante cubile sacrum caelestibus excitat aras
 tres, quas chrysolithi ornant et positae ordine gemmae,
 accensumque animum divinis naribus efflat.
 Ille oculos coniectos ut miratur et in se
 gaudia felicitatis vitae saeclicumque perennis, 365
 fulgenti trabea indutus, se vertit ad alium
 excipiens solo natum, et domus alta silescit:
 "Imperii", dicit, "sceptra tibi trado tonantis,
 nate: meo regno sedes dextraque parentis,
 nate, tui; causa orbis per quam permanet ordo, 370
 causa es quam tempus novit per saecula nullum;
 munera magna tibi genitor, quae viribus istis
 conveniunt, trado: sunt immortalia, namque
 principio sine quae fulgent virtute regenda."
 His dictis sonare tubae, cava tympana bombum 375
 tunc repetunt. Solio natus sic fatur ab alto:
 "Sempiternus pater, rex maiestate verende,
 postquam summus amor, quo regna volumine torques
 haec celeri, imperii mihi iam dat sumere habenas,
 in promptu regere est tecum una cum igne micanti 380
 sidereum regnum, patrias deprehendere curas
 astra super. Communis apex, sociale cacumen
 est nobis, est aequus honor, stat gloria consors.
 Hanc agito molem, rapido quod cetera motu
 exercere simul possint sua corpora iura 385
 in terris, unam rebusque elementa ministrent
 materiam, qua genitalia cuncta creantur,
 principio, almae pater, voluisti et condere mundum;
 et stabilis tellus, gignet circumfluvius humor
 felices fetus, humana redempta propago 390
 se valeat nutrire quibus, persistere votis

363. Cf. DAI 3,694: Flammantemque animam divinis naribus efflat.

364. Cf. DAI 3,695: Ille ut coniectos oculos mirabitur in se

366. Cf. DAI 3,697: Ornatus, trabea indutus quos integit alta.

367. Cf. DAI 3,705: Dum vero interea superum domus alta silescit.

375. Cf. DAI 3,659: Et tuba terribilem et repetent cava tympana bombum.

377. Cf. DAI 3,663: Canitie, trabeaque et maiestate verendus.

384. *Quod*: sensu finali, ut saepius in Latinitate inferiore.

389. Cf. *Ov. met.* 1,30: Et pressa est gravitate sua; circumfluvius umor.

illa piis, possetque suam spectare fruentem
 hanc caelo carnem, quae nunc super omnia fulget
 agmina sacra, quibus saeptum est, altumque tribunal
 divinis animetur aquis, sedesque beatas 395
 alma colat, regis caelestia munera sumat,
 quae pueri, quondam nimium se credere formae
 ausi, amiserunt: infernum ivere ruentes.”
 His tandem dictis, indutus Christus amictu
 flammanti, series stat quo longissima rerum 400
 picta peregre, radiant quo nomina divum,
 et caput astrifera vinctus radiante corona,
 omnipotens sedit stellanti immobilis arce,
 voce ingente deis mandatque suprema potestas
 ire suas sedes, quamprimum ascendere currus: 405
 illi omnes nitidis regis perneciter alis
 iussa obeunt volvuntque rotis celerantibus auras.

407 volvuntque *correx*it *al.m.*: voluntque ed.

396-397. Cf. DAI 3,649-650: Quae pueri quondam dilecti et saepe rogantes/ non tulerunt, ausi nimium se credere formae.

398. Cf. DAI 3,610: Ite domum in tristem, si quis pudor, ite ruentes.

400-401. Cf. DAI 3,698-699: Recludet, series quibus est longissima rerum/ picta peregre perscriptaque nomina divum.

e. Eiusdem epopia in festum Corporis Christi

Salve, festa dies, superos orbesque per imos
 quae veneranda simul, quae celebranda venis!
 Roscida puniceo noctem tu pellis amictu,
 lux, iterum fundis et, alma, decus.
 Flore solum vario pulchre depingitur omne 5
 ac pius aethereo munere gaudet homo.
 Fit populo Christi soboles felicior omni,
 aligeros inter connumeranda choros.
 Fortunata, tibi redeunt Saturnia regna,

1 per imos *correx*it: perimos ed.

8. Cf. *de ascensu* 4: Aligeri divique chori, canere ignis adurit.

9. Cf. Verg. *ecl.* 4,6: Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.

gens, tibi de caelo dulcia mella cadunt. 10
 Quid maius sacram cuperes quam accumbere ad illam
 mensam, vera Dei sunt ubi membra dapes?
 Non Ganymedes, prisci quem cecinere poetae,
 sancta ministrat ibi vīna bibenda bonis:
 est ibi divinus genitor, qui nectare sancto 15
 convivis implet pocula sacra suis,
 et stant virginei circum coetusque piorum,
 angelica excelsa turbaque ab arce venit.
 Sidereae agmen agunt et versicoloribus alis
 fulgescunt volucres: carmina mira canunt. 20
 At quam surdae hominum aures, quam sunt lumina caeca,
 luminis haud tanti conspiciuntque iubar!
 Humanos quaecumque fide nos credere oportet
 sincera sensus (ut patet) illa latent.
 Hunc igitur celebrate diem, celebrate canendo 25
 et pueri, iuvenes, virque, puella, senex;
 dicatis pia verba Deo mensamque paranti,
 viscera gustetis sanguine mixta suo;
 et properent omnes laeta ad convivia regis,
 et libent epulas, quae bona cuncta manent. 30
 Corde, fide firma, pura cum veste venite;
 thura focis fument suavis et adsit odor.
 Annuat et vobis numen quodcumque petitis,
 siderei praestet visere regna poli.

FINIS

Carmen in festum Corporis Christi post versus in ascensum Domini
 excusum est; idem XVII e distichis elegiacis constat.

13 *Ganymedes scripsi*: Ganimedes ed.; *cecinere prop. IJsewijn*: cernere ed.

10. Cf. Verg. *georg.* 4,102: Dulcia mella premes, nec tantum dulcia quantum.

13. *Ganymedes*: Troiani regi filius a Iove in Olympum abreptus, quo vina ministraret.

cernere: id perfectum antiquitatis, ut videtur, alienum, emendassemus *crevere* scribendo, si *crevi* ad significationem percipiendi antiquitus pertinuisset. *Cecinere* feliciter coniecit IJsewijn

15. Cf. DAI 3,677: Hinc ubi divinis epulis et nectare sancto.

19. Cf. DAI 1,2: Astrorum decus et qui versicoloribus alis.

20. *fulgescunt*: est vox infimae Latinitatis (cf. Ennod. *carm.* 56,1).

29. Cf. DAI 3,672: Actutum magni laeta ad convivia regis.

Titulus: epopia: est vox nova, fortasse e fonte Graeco (ἐποποιῖα) derivata; at scriptionem versuum heroicorum designat, illi vero versus sunt elegiaci. Num ergo *epopta* (= *epoptes*) legendum, quo mysteriis initiatus dicitur?

festum: Festum Corporis Christi, quod hisce temporibus 'Sanctissimi corporis et sanguinis Christi' solet nuncupari, inde ab anno circiter 1230° celebratur ut eucharistia instituta commemoretur.

II.

(EPIGRAMMATA IN LAELIUM GAVARDUM)

Haecce epigrammata, quae memoravimus, inedita adhuc delituerunt in codice quodam Ambrosiano Mediolanensi (H 79 inf., fol. 23). Quatuor distinguenda sunt epigrammata, in ipso codice interpuncta variisque lusa metris; quare falso legitur 'epigramma' in opere c.t. *Inventario Ceruti dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, II, Fontes Ambrosiani, 52 (Trezzano s/N, 1975), sub codice H 79 inf. Laelium autem Gavardum annis 1589° et 1590° Pisanae Academiae moderatorem creatum esse diximus; fuit idem Aldi Manuti jr.is consobrinus (cf. G. Papponetti, "Julii Roscii Hortini *Lusus Pastorales* (prima recognizione del *Vat. Barb. lat.* 1967)", *Human. Lovan.*, 35 (1986), 76-124 (pp. 86-87)).

- a. *In almae Academiae Pisanae moderatorem Laelium Gavardum Asulanum epigramma Dominici Poncevii Florentini, in praedicto gymnasio discipuli* f.23v

Excurrit rauco Clisis dum murmure ad amnem
qui nati Clymenes abluit ora deae,
aspicit amnicolas ad se properare puellas.
Miratur sistens et duo verba dedit:

Tit. demonstrat hanc paginam folii tergum olim minime fuisse

- a. 1. *Clisis:* vulgo *Chiese*: fluvius qui in *Ollium* (vulgo *Oglio*) influit.
2. *Clymenes:* i.e. nymphae Oceani.

Epigrammatii sensus atque intellectus haud facilis. Clisis fluvius, posteaquam Acelum vicum, e quo Gavardum oriundum esse scimus, praeterfluxit in Olliumque influit, Padi aquis miscetur. Padum porro a Graecis Eridanum appellatum esse notum est; fama autem est Eridanum flumen Phaethonta, Clymenes filium, cum paternos ille flagitasset currus, excepsisse (cf. *Ov. met.* 2,1-332).

Acelo itaque nuntiatur quantam Gavardus famam sit consecutus.

- “Quid mihi, quid fertisve meae — narratis — alumnae.” 5
 Mellifluos undis tunc cecinere modos:
 “Pisanae Musae insigni virtute Gavardum
 doctiloquum Phoebum constituere suum.
 Parnassi decus, Alpheae et nova gloria pubis
 dicitur et summo hunc Arnus honore colit.” 10
- b. Induit apricos veluti cum gramine colles
 ver tepidum viridi floreque vestit humum,
 pallentes fundunt violae et narcissus odorem
 purpureaeque rosae, lilia cana, bonum:
 Sic Alphea novo depingit rura colore 5
 Laelius Aonidum quod moderatur aquas.
- c. Tyndaridae fratres, concordi foedere iuncti, f.23^r
 fulgebant caelo stellis radiantibus ambo,
 cum placidi Clisi eximios argenteus Arnus
 exhibet aeterno celebrandos tempore honores.
- d. Dic, Echo, Alpheis resonant quid tympana Pisis
 pulsa manu, et clamor turribus aere sacris?
 Quae nova Pierides dicunt? Cur Naiades Arni
 marmoreum ad lymphas cerno movere latus?
 Musarum gaudentque, tenet quia sceptrum, Gavardo 5
 virtute insigni, moribus et sophia.

4 latus *proposui*: litus cod. *contra metrum* 6 virtute *scripsi*: virtuti cod.

- c. 1. *Tyndaridae fratres*: cf. Ov. *fast.* 5,700: Tyndaridae fratres, hic eques, ille pugil. Agitur de Castore et Polluce qui inter astra sunt locati. Arnus fluvius pro Pisis Pisanaque Academia, Clisius (Clisis, Clesus, Clausius, Clesius, Clusius) vero pro Acelo vico et Gavardo est scriptus. Itaque gymnasium Pisanum Gavardum laudibus effert atque fraterne amat tantopere, quantopere inter se olim Castor et Pollux.
- d. 1. *Alpheis*: Alpheus fluvius per Arcadiam fluit, unde et Arcadiam significat; Arcades autem Pisas olim condidisse feruntur.
 5. *Gaudentque*: Ponselius -que suffixum nulla re iubente nisi metro saepius adhibet.

III

DE LAUDIBUS SCIENTIARUM ORATIO

Orationem illam Kal. Nov. anno 1596° habitam Philippus Iunta typographus paulo post typis excudit (cf. L.S. Camerini, *I Giunti tipografi di Firenze*, II: 1571-1625 (Firenze, 1971), pp. 11 sqq.). Exemplaria vero rara sunt; nos Ambrosiano Mediolanensi sumus usi. Eam orationem manu (Ponseviana?) scriptam adservat "Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze" (cod. Magl. II, II, 10, ff. 139^r-45^v).

Argumentum orationis inauguralis, in qua nullus fere locus communis praetermissus est, haud scio an Ponsevius ipse non selegerit. Orationis autem genus fustum longisque insignitum periodis, in quibus verba cognominata, quamvis paulum ad sensum adiuvent, saepe numero cumulantur.

Oratiuncula data est ad Capponum Capponium (ob. anno 1603°), qui ab anno 1557° usque ad 1563^{um} ius civile Pisis docuit (cf. A. Fabronius, *o. c.*, pp. 34-35). Declamationi subiungitur et *Ode ad studiosam iuventutem* systematis Alcaicis expolita (in eodem codice servato, quo et oratio, ff. 148^r-150^v) et elegea de Bargaeo defuncto (ff. 150^v-154^r), utraque eidem libro typis edito inserta.

a. *De laudibus scientiarum oratio*

Perillustri ac reverendissimo viro D. Abbati Cappono Capponio illustrissimae religionis equitum D. Stephani antistiti et celeberrimo Pisano Gymnasio praefecto.

Dominicus Ponsevius S.P.D.

Etsi tam ingens est scientiarum splendor, vir prudentissime, ut suis 5
radiis humanas laudes ceu sol nitidissimus omnia caeli lumina superare videatur, enixi tamen summae eruditionis viri semper sunt earum praestantiam si non pro dignitate, saltem pro viribus celebrare, et paene nihil quod ad litterarum faciat commendationem indictum omiserunt. Hinc fit, exiguus seu nullus honestas disciplinas novis dictionibus exornandi 10
locus hodie relinquatur illarumque multis laudatoribus aliarum contionum et sententiarum flores suaviores seligere sit necessarium. Quod quidem nobis in hac prima nostra scientiarum laudatione ne contingeret,

Tit. Perillustri ... S.P.D. ed.: De laudibus litterarum oratio Dominici Ponsevi habita in florentissimo Pisano gymnasio Kal. No. MDXCVI cod. *praemisit* D. ed.: Divi cod.

12 sit necessarium ed.: saepe *praemisit* cod.

13 ne contingeret ed.: *om.* cod.

vix evitare potuimus. Quapropter ipsam tuo, praeclaro nomine, cui solae
orationes miris decoribus lepidisque inventis et eximia doctrina repletae 15
conveniunt, decorare non auderem, nisi te pro tua in omnes ingenuarum
artium studiosos et mihi saepius perspecta humanitate munusculum istuc
nostrum, quaecumque sit, boni consulturum sperarem. Vale. Pisis, Kal.
Nov. MDXCVI.

De laudibus scientiarum oratio

Si quantum hodierna dies, praestantissimi doctores vosque, ceteri audi-
tores nobilissimi, annua studiorum renovatione sapientiae consecrata
iucunditatis et delectationis habet, aut quantum haec vestra omnium
alacritas et ingens amor in bonas litteras utilitatis affert et laudis, tantum
expolitae eloquentiae et locupletis eruditionis in me esse cognoscerem, 5
magno atque excelso animo hanc mihi insolitam ex hoc loco dicendi
provinciam susciperem neque huius auctoritatem suggesti, quod semper
facundissimis oratoribus maxime patuit, vestramque frequentiam et
gravissimum conspectum mihi magnopere metuendum existimarem.
Tunc enim purgatissimis auribus vestris aliquid perfectum ingenio, ela- 10
boratum industria, dignum re, dignum huius nobilitate senatus, dignum
hoc animorum ardore exhibere posse considerem. Sed tali animi cultu et
acie ingenii, quod in me sentio quam sit exiguum, destitutus, de me ipse
vereor ne impudentis sit apud vos de scientiarum laudibus habere
orationem; quod nisi conscientiae meae tenuitatis vester singularis ani- 15
mus ad disciplinarum laudationem audiendam, et hilaritas subveniret,
cederem ex hoc loco, viri praeclarissimi, neque in concursu hominum
litteratissimorum atque in tanto Pisanae Academiae splendore locum
ullum orationi meae ieiunae et inconcinnae esse iudicaret. Etenim si
Phidias ille tantopere celebratus artifex ad unam Minervae crepidam 20
effingendam non parum temporis et laboris studiique impendit, qua mihi
verborum magnificentia, quo sententiarum flumine, qua doctrinae prae-

13 vix... potuimus ed.: evenisse fatemur cod. *a. corr.* 15 miris ed.: non usitatis
cod. decoribus... doctrina ed.: decoribus nitentes sed aliquo (aliqui *e corr.*) lepido
invento et eximia doctrinae cod. 17 istuc ed.: istihuc cod. 18-19 Kal. Nov. ed.:
om cod. MDXCVI ed.: MDXCVII cod.

Tit. De... oratio ed.: Oratio de laudibus litterarum habita in Pisano gymnasio Kal.
Nonona (*sic*) Xbris (*sic*) 1596 a Dominico Ponsevio *not. al. m.* cod. 1-2 praestantissimi
... nobilissimi ed.: patres c. cod.

stantia in tam exiguo temporis spatio non ad unum solum Minervae ornamentum, sed ad divina illius decora, quae scientiae appellantur, exprimenda opus esset? Quamobrem in huiusmodi dictionis meae tabella 25 innumeras vires et caelestem disciplinarum pulchritudinem, cum pro dignitate nequeam effingere, eas quodammodo adumbrare enitar. Praesertim cum in eo coetu doctissimorum hominum, vel potius in eo Musarum domicilio, sciendi et agendi artes praedicem, in quo iam diu perfectissima virtutum omnium simulacra divinitus splenduerunt, in quo 30 toties earum laudes adeo late resonarunt, ut, non secus Corybantes ferunt numine illo percitos et, posteaquam tibiae canere desierint, gerere usque tamen illarum in auribus concentum et ad earum modos imitari, sic vos loci recordatione permotos arbitrer suavium, quibus persaepe oblectati estis, rerum ita in memoriam redituros, ut, quamvis tacentibus 35 iam, quos saepius hic audistis, scientiarum laudatoribus, tamen ipsorum intimis in mentibus vestris et vigeat adhuc et loquatur oratio. Cui tandem ut hic noster, si non multum gravis, forsan non omnino iniucundus succedat sermo, aliqua de multis, quae de scientia dici possent, nos quoque pro viribus audebimus recensere, siquidem illi numquam materia 40 deficit laudis, quia numquam ei sufficit copia laudatoris.

Quam vero praeclarum et divinum aeterni Dei donum sit scientia, auditores ornatissimi, ex hoc liquido constare potest, quod ea beneficia animae praestare videtur, quae ipsammet animam corpori praebere fatemur. Nam quattuor inclitis muneribus corpus ab anima tamquam a 45 sua naturali forma mirum in modum decoratur: virtute illius existit, impulsu movetur, pulchritudine insignitur, diuturnitate perseverat. Tot etiam dona, et longe praestantiora, humanae menti, quam informat et perficit, scientia cum largiatur, quid per Deum immortalem homini datum est ipsa utilius aut honestius? 50

Age vero, tam egregia animi ornamenta, quae illi nitidum doctrinae lumen infundit omnemque caliginem discutit, inchoatae contionis cursu perillustremus. Eorum enim excellentia segetem et copiam laudum litterariae eruditionis suppeditat, et nil esse optabilius, nil quaeri formosius, nil reperiri iucundius quam liquidissimam sapientiae lucem luculenter 55

30 splenduerunt ed.: splendida erant cod. a. corr.

33 imitari cod.: ivitare ed.

34 arbitrer correxi: arbitror cod. ed.

36 tamen ed.: tum cod. a. corr.

40 audebimus recensere ed.: recenseremus cod. a. corr.

30. *Splenduerunt*: est forma infimae Latinitatis.

53. *Perillustremus*: est verbum novum!

ostendit. Animus qui in hac corporis compage includitur, si nulla fuerit scientia praeditus, dubio procul veluti manus abscissa a brachio non est manus, ut dicebat Averroes, imperfectus et quasi vitae expers vocatur ac nihil plane habet quod voluptatem honestati coniunctam afferre possit. Cognitione autem litterarum illustratus, tamquam alter in humano corpore Deus mirabilis evadet, utque humanarum virium praestantia eluceat maxime efficit. Quandoquidem intelligentia, cuius munere cunctis animantibus homo antecellit, cum caelestibus mentibus convenit Deique praepotentis imago cognoscitur, disciplinae fulgore feliciter comparatur: ratio dirigitur, insitum ingenium acuitur, congenita semina bonae indolis vigent, origo denique omnium nascitur virtutum. Cum autem haec bona contineat litteratura, quam divinam appello, merito lux seu vera perfectio mentis censetur omnisque studiosae operationis principium, quo sapientes viri, sicuti salutiferis visibilis solis radiis ceterae res huius mundanae molis calefactae fetus suavissimos producant, quod ad verum et bonum, laudabilium actionum terminos ordinetur, quod spargat ac disseminet memoriam sempiternam, quod ad aethereos spiritus proxime accedat, saepissime agere prospiciuntur. Longum sane esset ac superfluum praeclara facinora litteratorum hominum, quibus immortalitati prospexerunt, connumerare. Satis per se post tot annorum, qui praetierunt, curricula resonat Homericae tubae clangor, oblectant Platonicae Academiae colloquia, refulgent aurea Lycei monumenta, tonat Ciceronis eloquentia, floret Maronis ingenium; transeo complures alios qui in dies magis per ora hominum volitant, quam cum vixere. Sunt litterae bonorum fontes, specula actionum optimaque vivendi magistrae, quibus fidissimis ducibus per ardua virtutum culmina ascendere caelumque ipsum penetrare homines possunt; quos scite Pythagoras aiebat in medio rerum constitutos esse, ut mundi universitatem contemplantur eiusque admirabilem concentum enixe studeant imitari. Ecquis umquam sine scientiarum ope ita facile se componeret, ut sibi ex pulcherrimo rerum omnium consensu felicem degendi vitam sumeret exempla, quae solius illi virtutis amatores, qui sapientiae nomine dignabantur, Solon, Bio, Periander, Cleobulus et reliqui, recipiebant, numquam iustitia Aristotelis, fortitudo Socratis, temperantia Xenocratis, prudentia Xenophontis nisi doctrinae luce claruissent. Praebent igitur ad bene beateque viven-

69 visibilis ed.: *erasit* cod. (*propter euphoniā fortasse recte*)
cod. a. corr.

86 *sumeret* ed.: *sibi praem.* cod.

82 penetrare ed.: *pene*

82. *Pythagoras*: cf. *Cic. nat.* 1,27.

dum litterae adiumenta. Quapropter non mirum est tertium illud munus decoris et dignitatis in anima adeo nitere suique admirabilem amorem adeo excitare, ut olim reges et imperatores doctorum hominum commercio delectarentur, cum ipsis necessitudine coniungerentur ac familiariter viverent. Nonne Scipio Ennium et Polybium, Polycrates 95 Samiorum rex Anacreontem, Hieron Aeschylum et Simonidem, Dionysius Philoxenum in suam amicitiam receperunt? Nullus gemmarum nitor, nullus auri fulgor, nulla fortunae claritas reperitur, quae scientiarum lumini non cedat et veluti a divina luce minora sidera non obscuretur. Ideo Alexandrum saepe dixisse ferunt se malle ceteris littera- 100 rum ornamentis anteire quam fortunis. Est omnis pulchritudinis maxime conciliare amorem; potissimum autem hoc praestat scientiarum formositas, per quam ex Cimmeriis umbris emergunt homines atque in oculis omnium collocantur, contemptum et oblivionem devincunt.

Sed multa de disciplinarum venustate consulto praetereo, ne ab immenso 105 ipsius splendore, si qua est ingenioli mei acies, nimis hebetetur nominisque aeternitatem, quam animae parit sapientia, in extrema iam parte orationis indictam relinquamus. Destituunt formae, quaecumque sunt infra lunam, spatio temporis substantias, quas perficiunt. Scientiae autem qualitas menti perpetuo inhaeret et tamquam smaragdus pretiosissimus 110 suaviter virens illam solutis corporeis vinculis in caelum comitatur, in quo supernaturalis illa beneficentia, quemadmodum naturales dotes formosiores reddit, sic sapientiae habitum efficit clariorem. Et merito opinantur etiam philosophi disciplinas et virtutes muliebria nomina sortiri, ut eruditionem intelligamus esse possessionem stabilissimam et 115 fecundissimam. Quare bene monebat Aristippus cives suos ut ea filiis bona relinquerent, quae possunt cum naufragis enatare. O admiranda animi ornamenta, o caelestia dona disciplinae! Quicquid antiquitas invenerit, quidquid dixerit iam pridem in aeternam oblivionem concessissent, periret cum corpore rerum omnium gestarum memoria, nulla laus 120 superesset homini post cineres, nulla gloria, quam praemium suorum laborum virtus desiderat, nisi sacratissima litterarum monumenta exstitisent. Quis igitur tam aberrans a bono et aequo divinum scientiarum

91 tertium ed.: *add. cod. sup. lin.*
 dum cod.: quemadmodum ed.

106 hebetetur cod.: habete ed.
 113 et merito ed.: *add. cod. sup. lin.*

112 quemadmo-
 115 eruditio-

112. *Supernaturalis*: est vox antiquitatis aliena.

116. *Aristippus*: fontem non repperimus.

munus animo investigare, mente attingere, ingenio comprehendere non exoptaret? Quis vitam convenienter naturae traducere, nobilitate florere, 125 divitiis affluere, ad gloriae lumen accedere non contenderet? Laudo vos, iuvenes optimi, quos sponte vestra satis accensos ad huiusmodi studia esse video, gratulor quod capiat vos gloriae atque aeterni nominis cupiditas, laetor vos ipsius virtutis immensa dulcedine attrahi perspicere, gaudebo etiam intueri vos, viam felicitatis ingressos, numquam deflectere 130 iter, numquam referre pedem, eundem semper animum, eandem mentem sententiamque retinere. Sic tam ingens, qua in hoc laudis et honoris curriculo versari cupitis, industria expostulat, sic quae vobis datur in universae philosophiae penetralia parvo negotio ingrediendi requirit facultas, quandoquidem in eo estis gymnasio, in eo Minervae templo, 135 cuius dignitas et maiestas, cuius doctissima collegia, quae serenissimi principis Ferdinandi Medicis ingenti liberalitate et magnitudine virtutum felicissime sustentur, suae humanitatis et scientiae splendore ingenia ad disciplinas alliciunt, allecta inflammant, inflammata sapientia illustant. Quod iure ad tam praeclaram academiam, tamquam ad novas Athenas, 140 immo ad candidae theatrum virtutis ex vestris longinquis regionibus profectos esse gloriari debetis, ubi, omnibus studiorum perturbationibus longe summotis, nihil est quod vos ad Palladias artes currentes non quotidie magis excitet et inflammet, sive loci quietem, vel doctorum probitatem, clementiam, religionem, seu summum in hoc gymnasium 145 amorem illustrissimi huius urbis antistitis, Caroli Antonii Putei, maximae pietatis viri optimique consilii, sive Capponiam prudentiam huic litterariae republicae optime consulentem perpendatis. Quare his bonis, his commodis, his beneficiis laeto animo utimini, nihil aliud agite, nullum aliud vestrum esse officium ducite, nisi quae de vobis est 150 expectationem in dies augeatis et commemorationem nominis vestri non cum vitae tempore dimittere, sed cum omni posteritate adaequare possitis.

FINIS

133 cupitis ed.: coepistis cod. *fortasse recte*.

137. *Ferdinandi*: cf. supra, p. 253.

146. *Putei*: cf. infra, p. 290-91.

b. *Ode ad studiosam iuventutem*

Proles tonantis Pierides Iovis
laetantur aestus intolerabiles
transisse suetumque excolendis
ingeniis remeare tempus.

Nunc vult iuventam Pallas in aream 5
descendere; almae iam sapientiae
fores recludit iam suaeque
militiae revocat magistros.

Et vos voluptas ruris amabilis
ultra moratur, quos sacra pocula 10
libare delectat Minervae
et sophiae bibere aure olores?

Non fas amoenis tempora villulis
nunc conterantur; mens satis otio
levata magnum ferre pondus 15
Palladii poterit laboris.

Videtis ut nunc alma Ceres suis
committit agris semina; sic seris,
divina, virtutes, Minerva,
floriferis sapientum in arvis, 20

Alphea quorum nulli Academia
cedit: vel optet dia volumina
versare seu iuris papyros
volvere frugiferas iuventus,

aut scire Cous quid doceat senex, 25
inventi divi seu cupit aurea

2 laetantur cod.: laetantes ed. *contra metrum* 5 aream cod.: arcam ed. *contra metrum* 5-8 Nunc...magistros ed., cod. *mg.*, addita nota '*sic legendum est*': Panduntur almae iam sapientiae/ fores: iubet descendere in aream/ Pallas iuventam iam suaeque/ militiae revocat magistros cod. 17 Ceres cod.: Cares ed. 18 seris ed.: serit cod. 20 arvis ed.: *hortis* cod. 25 scire cod.: scira ed.

21. *Alphea*: Pisana.

25. *Cous senex*: Hippocrates.

- Platonis audire et quid abdunt
candidi Aristotelis libelli.
- Maiores fulgent hic tua sidera,
Astraea; sedem hic figere luminis 30
Apollo, fons gentis; sorores
Aoniae, hoc colitis lyceum,
fulgore cuius tollere verticem
Pisana sublimem urbs valet inclita,
quae splendet usque ac usque adaucta 35
gentibus et domibus superbis,
rebusque felix omnibus affluens
servat quietem perpetuam, sui
gaudetque Fernandi potentis
principis auspiciis secundis. 40
- O ter beati vos, iuvenes, locus
quos iste suavis detinet; artium
decus bonarum non in oris
quaerere cogimini remotis,
in quas trahebat iam veteres viros 45
sciendi amor: perque aequora et arduos
montes adibant cum tot amplis
sumptibus Assyrios et Indos.
- Doctrinae in imis nil anima invenit
terris nitenti munere dulcius, 50
cuius sitim explet numquam abunde
corporeis religata vinclis.
- Hanc propter unam quod Tagus aurifer
Gangesve pulchri volvit et Attali

27 abdunt cod.: abdune ed. 30 Astraea *correx*i: astrae cod., ed. figere cod.:
sidere ed. 45 veteres cod.: vateres ed. 52 religata ed. *cod. e corr.*: relegata *cod. a.*
corr. 54 Gangesve ed., *cod. a. corr.*: Gangesque quae cod. *e corr.*

30. *figere*: infinitivus historicus.

53. *Tagus*: Hispaniae flumen (vulgo Tejo) quod aurum olim tulisse dicitur.

54. *Ganges*: Indiae flumen haud secus ac Tagus auriferum.

Attali: Attalus I, divitiis potentissimus, necnon Attalus III (de quo videsis
Iustinum in epitoma 36,4).

dives domus sordet parumque ducimus aequoreos lapillos.	55
Haec una honorum praemia grandium affert et alas nectere mentibus potest, quibus laetantur orbis siderei penetrare regna.	60
O si fuisset Musa benignior nostris Camenis neve scientia impar mihi longe daretur dotibus eximiis cothurnus,	
quam me sonoro carmine in aethera surgentem et artes tollere laudibus claras videres tu, caterva o iuvenum studiosa, Pisis	65
quae litterarum cultibus expetis ornari et artum carpere gloriae iter, negatum vulgo amanti delicias placidosque somnos.	70

57 honorum... grandium ed., cod *e corr.*: honores tabiles cod. *a. corr.* 62 neve ed.,
cod *e corr.*: neque cod. *a. corr.*

56. *Lapillos*: Poeta lapidem quendam ab Attalo I° Romanis donatum (Liv. 29,11) fortassis attingit — unde *Megalensia* (quae dicunt) orta esse feruntur.
62. *Neve*: Prae sigmatismo syllaba posterior non producitur.

c. De obitu Petri Angelii Bargaei elegia

Dominici Ponsevii ad Iosephum Boccam illustrissimum et reverendissimum D.D. Caroli Antonii Putei Pisani archiepiscopi vicarium et in Pisano gymnasio pontificii iuris interpretem praestantissimum

Et merito, decus Astraeae, tibi, Bocca, perenne,
dedico ad Angelios carmina dicta rogos.

Tit. Dominici...praestantissimum ed.: Ad Iosephum Boccam cod.

Maesta tui vatis deflentur funera, cuius
 in morte auratam fregit Apollo lyram;
 secum Castalii perierunt gaudia fontis, 5
 secum est Musarum semisepulta domus.

De obitu Petri Angelii Bargaei elegia Dominici Ponselii

Occidit Angelius: Latiae deflete Camenae,
 dissolve indignas, turba novena, comas.
 Fata senis plorare decet, qui saecula longa
 vates Cumaeae vivere dignus erat,
 cuius olorinos superantia carmina cantus 5
 mirum, Parca, tuas non tenuisse manus.
 Flebilis est Musis tanti iactura poetae,
 cui similem forsán tempora nulla ferent.*
 Romanae Graecaeque silet facundia linguae,
 ingenii fontem perdidit una dies, 10
 unica sublimis deleta Maronis imago
 est; nunc Pieriae fit minor artis honor.
 Cui summas humana dedit sapientia vires,
 omnis cui virtus contigit, ille iacet.
 Pro dolor! A, quantas decet ingeminare querelas 15
 et largo totas proluere imbre genas?
 Bargaei montes, vitrei vosque Auseris undae,
 lugete, in vobis nil nisi triste sonet.
 Auditis Dryades, Faunos, auditis et ipsum
 Pana queri vestrum dulce silere melos, 20
 quod vos Threiciis fecit non cedere silvis
 atque Phyletaeum vincere posse nemus.

13 Cui humana ed.: tot cui humana cod. *a. corr.*

17 Auseris ed.: Aeseris cod.

4. *Cymaeae*: sc. virginis. In urbe Cumis Sibylla Apollini deservire dicebatur.

6. *Tenuisse*: i.q. retinuisse (ne Bargaeus moriretur).

17. *Auseris*: fluminis Pisas transluentis (vulgo Serchio).

19. *Dryades*: silvarum nymphas.

Faunos: deos agros agrisque culturam tuentes.

20. *Pana*: armenti custodem, syringa in usum qui repperit.

21. *Threiciis... silvis*: in quis summus ille vates Orpheus lyra cecinit.

Phyletaeum... nemus: Cf. Prop. 4,6,3: Serta Phyletaeis certent Romana corymbis, i.e. Graecis Latinae elegae.

Cernite ut ereptum suspiret Cynthia vatem,
 aspiciate ut pharetram negligat illa suam.
 Et merito lacrimas, nemorum Latonia custos, 25
 nec tibi maestitiem dissimulare datur.
 Taygeti Delosve iugum seu frigida Tempe
 qui posthac decoret carmine, nullus erit,
 cervos qui te fusca vehunt in lustra ferarum,
 nemo tuos dicet, silvicolasque greges. 30
 Ecce tuae incomptae querula cum voce Napaeae
 tristia diffusis crinibus ora tegunt.
 Nec iuvat ad nervum volucres aptare sagittas
 prospicere et celeres lata per arva canes;
 fortis et aprorum fugiunt spectacula pugnae, 35
 cornua rauca silent, retia rara iacent,
 solaque nec tangis venantum numina, Petre,
 extincta Andinis aemula fama modis.
 Tristatur minui ipse suos Hymenaeus honores
 concentu Idalias deficiente domos, 40
 horrida sanguineum fregit Bellona flagellum:
 tam dolet altisonam conticuisse tubam,
 qua victae Solymae aeternus ferit astra triumphus,
 qua, Gofrede, tuum pandis in orbe iubar
 diaque Christicolis fulgent data munera nobis, 45
 splendet et Hesperii candida fama soli.

27 seu ed.: sic cod. *a. corr.* 47 potentes cod.: potentetes ed.

25. *Cynthia*: i.e. Diana, Latoniae filia; Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9,405: Astrorum decus et nemorum Latonia custos.

27. *Taygeti*: iugi, in quo expositus Apollo.

Delosve: qua in insula Apollo infantulus excipiebatur.

Tempe: Thessaliae vallis amoenissima Apollinis cultui dedita; cf. Verg. *georg.* 2,469: Speluncae vivique lacus et frigida Tempe.

31. *Napaeae*: vallium nymphae.

33-38. Alluditur Angelii Cynegeticon libellis.

36. *Cornua rauca*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7,615: Aeraque adsensu conspirant cornua rauco.

38. *Andinis*: i.e. Vergilianis.

39. *Idalias*: i.e. Venereas.

41. sqq. Agitur de Angelii Syriade (*Syrias hoc est expeditio illa celeberrima Christianorum principum qua Hierosolyma ductu Goffredi Bulionis Lottaringae ducis a Turcarum tyrannide liberata est...* (Florentiae, 1591, etc.)).

Incendunt pia gesta duces auferre potentes
 rursus barbarico moenia sacra iugo,
 tendunt heroes hilares per tela, per ignes,
 temnunt saxa, undas, vulnera, vincla, neces: 50
 veridicae fidei, non regni vana cupido
 invicta illorum corda movebat amor,
 verum forti animo meritas sprevere coronas
 contenti, ut rueret gens inimica Deo.
 O utinam exempla armipotens Europa sequatur, 55
 quaeque colunt divam cetera regna crucem
 gaudebunt Asiam claris spoliare trophaeis,
 gaudebunt Scythicae signa referre manus.
 Sed tunc Angeliam (sic fas mihi credere) damnum
 quam grave sit noscent non resonare lyram. 60
 Unam te, o Solymi laudatrix Musa laboris,
 victorum cupiet gloria parta ducum,
 qualis Alexander felicem dixit Achillem,
 quem Smyrnaea ferunt carmina ad astra virum.
 "Fortunata novo decantata arma Marone!" 65
 dicent quot tulerint saecula futura duces.
 Quilibet Angelios perget versare cothurnos,
 tantum Syriados quisque stupebit opus.
 Sed quid nos tantis lacrimis urgere sepulchrum
 nitimur et scindit pectora nostra dolor? 70
 Si Phoebi cultor, verae qui legis amator
 exstiterit, numquam dicitur ille mori,
 at victa morte in vitae se contulit oras,
 quas volitat circum numine plenus olor,

57 spoliare cod.: spoliariae ed. 60 noscent ed.: viderint cod. *a. corr.*, *qui dein* dicent,
denique cernent *correx*it sup. *lin.* 64 Smyrnaea *scripsi*: Smirnea cod. Smyrnia ed.
 69 sed ed.: at cod. *a. corr.* 73 victa... in ed.: vincens mortem cod. *a. corr.* 74 plenus
 ed.: fretus cod. *a. corr.*

54. *Gens inimica Deo*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1,67: *Gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat
 aequor.*

57. Cf. Palearius, *Exhortatio ad principes Christianos contra Turcas* (cf. *HL*, 34
 A (1985), 211-227 (pp. 216-220), 1-2: *Intrepidus animos quibus est spolianda
 trophaeis/ ora superba Asiae, Rhodio maculata cruore.*

64. *Smyrnaea*: i.e. *Homerica Alexander*: cf. Plut. *Alex.* 15,8.

69. Cf. Prop. 4,11,1: *Desine, Paule, meum lacrimis urgere sepulchrum.*

iam satis Angelius colles lustraverat altos 75
 Parnassi; in primis siderat ille locis;
 Gorgonei iam flumen equi potaverat omne;
 nil, quo caelestis mens aleretur, erat;
 condiderat praeclarum aeternis nomen in actis
 ascendens geminos gloria summa polos. 80
 Quare ad stelliferas rediit mens candida sedes,
 vatium ubi perpetuis ora rigantur aquis.
 Illic diva suum alloquitur Catharina poetam,
 quam coluit decorans versibus ille piis.
 En, dilecte mihi vates, tua tempora cingunt 85
 non terrae lauri, sed nitida astra poli;
 quae tibi sola fuit cordi, divina poesis,
 obtinet aligeris praemia digna choris:
 inspicere sidereum regem, cane carmina laeta,
 quae divus puris mentibus afflat amor. 90
 , Finis.

De Bargaeo supra diximus. Anno 1517° Bargae in urbe Tusca natus, Bononiae Amaseum audivit; anno 1545° primum publice docuit primumque Cynegeticon librum edidit foras. Ab anno 1549° usque Pisis humaniores litteras, deinde et philosophiam Aristotelicam docuit; aliquot etiam annos Florentiae (domi Magni Ducis) praeceptor erat. Idem et Latina poesi floruit et Tusca, utqui ad alteram editionem Torquati Taxi poematis c.t. 'Gerusalemme Liberata' edendam adjuvaret. Sua autem ipsius carmina omnia anno 1585° in lucem protrahenda curavit. Angelius Pisis supremum obiit diem exeunte mense Februario anno 1596°.

Iosephus autem Bocca (vulgo Giuseppe Del Bocca) Pisanus triginta per annos ius pontificium docuit, cum antea Caesareas institutiones explicuisset. Canonicus primum, mox archipresbyter eodemque tempore vicarius erat archiepiscoporum B. Iunii atque C. Putei. Obiit anno 1610°.

81 sedes ed.: caelum cod. *a. corr.* stelliferas ed.: cognatum cod. *a. corr.*, qui dein *a. corr.* proposuit sidereum et stellantes 83 Catharina ed.: Chaterina cod. 87 divina ed.: Christiana cod. *a. corr.* 89 sidereum cod.: siderium ed.

77. *Gorgonei*: Gorgoneus lacus ad montem Heliconem Musarum sacrum iacebat.

83. Cf. *Ov. am.* 3,9,26: Vatum Pieriis ora rigantur aquis.

84. *Catharinam*: Angelius votivum carmen in D. Catharinam panxit, quod una cum Syriados libellis publici est factum iuris.

Carolus Antonius Puteus gloriam sibi propterea conciliavit, quod anno 1605^o Pisis in foro Equitum Stephanianorum collegium esse voluit, in quo singulis annis septeni iuvenes Pedemontani (nam ipse ea e regione erat oriundus) alerentur. Praeterea septem miscellanearum iuris quaestionum volumina conscripsit.

IV

LITTERAE ALDO MANUTIO DATAE

Has litteras autographas legimus in Bibliothecae Ambrosianae Mediolanensis codice manu scripto numeroque E 37 inf. (f. 63^o) insignito; primum in lucem protraxit Ester Pastorello, *Inedita Manutiana 1502-1597. Appendice all' Inventario*, Civiltà Veneziana, Studi, 10 (Venezia/Roma, 1960), p. 578. Epistulam ad Aldum dandam Ponselius exaravit Nonis Aprilibus, i.e. die 5^o m. Aprilis (anno 1597^o), non nono die eiusdem mensis (ut Pastorella voluit).

Aldo Mannuccio Dominicus Ponselius S.P.D.

Salutem mihi superioribus diebus tuo nomine Silvagus quidam dixit et quam de me amantissime sentires et honorificentissime loquerere commemoravit. Quamobrem mearum esse partium existimavi tibi, quem mei memorem et valde me amare intelligo, his litteris gratias agere. Equidem exponere tibi non possum quantum voluptatis ex huiusmodi tua de me memoria ceperim. Non enim tanti apud te, inter litterariae reipublicae proceres virum praestantissimum, esse credidissem, quod tam clara, non dicam nominis nostri recordationis, verum etiam tuae in me benevolentiae signa intueri mihi non sit quasi novum et inexpectatum. Et si Bononiae Pisisque tuarum lectionum frequens fuerim auditor, non tamen ob mediocrem seu potius exiguam ingenii mei perspicacitatem adeo profeci, ut doctissimorum hominum laudes me mereri cognoscam. Neque in hoc munere mansuetiores Musas in Pisana Academia publice profitendi ita me gessi, ut iuvenilis eruditionis famam multum superaverim. Quare id totum tuae, qua maxima praeditus es, humanitati ascribam et me tibi deditissimo uti posthac velis, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Nam ad aestimationem nostram magnopere pertinere arbitror illi deservire libentissime, cuius amore nil mihi gratius et iucundius esse potest. Pisis Nonis Aprilis MDIIC.

Tit. Ponselius cod.: Ponselius ed. S.P.D. cod.: *om.* ed. 6 ceperim cod.: coeperim ed. 11 seu cod.: sive ed. 19 Nonis cod.: nono ed.

1. *Silvagus*: Ponselius Manutius familiaris nobis ignotus.

V

EPIGRAMMA IN UGOLINUM VERINUM

Duo sunt epigrammatii fontes, alter Iulii Nigri de scriptoribus Florentinis liber, alter codex quidam Magliabechius Florentiae adservatus. Niger, quem cetera opuscula Ponseviana latuere, unum illud epigramma se legisse adseveravit (p. 155), quod in adnotatiunculis ad Verinum relatis (p. 521) descripsit. Iosephus autem Mazzatinti, dum de codicibus Magliabechiis (classis 7^{ae}) agit, haec e cod. ms. 383^o exscripsit (*Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. XIII (Forlì, a^o 1905^o et 1906^o), p. 88): "Nel foglio di coperto è un' epigramma 'dominici ponsevij in excell. poetae Ugolini Verini panegyrim ad lectorem' ". Quod epigramma Iosephus Fögel et Ladislaus Juhász, cum Verini panegyricum typis excudendum primum curarent (Lipsiae a^o 1933^o, in *Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum*) ipsoque codice essent usi, mirum praetermiserunt in modum.

Ugolinum autem Verinum nemo nescit. Natus enim in urbe Florentia a^o 1438^o Christophori ille Landini olim discipulus atque auditor per multa tradidit opera metris vincta posteritati, velut *Carliados* libros, *Epigrammaton* libellos et *Silvas*. Idem anno 1516^o supremum obiit diem. Panegyricus ille, qui dicitur, integro titulo inscribitur *Ad Ferdinandum regem et Isabellam Hispaniarum reginam de Saracenae Baetidos gloriosa expugnatione*; quo heroicis describitur versibus qui Ferdinandus et Isabella singulas Baetidos (provinciae dico Hispanien-sis) urbes a^o 1492^o expugnarint.

Dominici Ponsevii Florentini in excellentissimi poetae Ugolini Verini panegyricum epigramma ad lectorem

Eloquii clarum fontem flumenque profundum

hoc volvens poteris cernere, lector, opus.

Huc labi Aonidum de fonte fateberis undas,

hic dulces tolli sidera ad alta sonos,

Verinumque Sophocleo cantare cothurno,

5

eximium vatem. Baetica bella leges.

Tit. Dominici...lectorem scripsi: dominici ponsevij florentini in excellentissimi poetae Ugolini Verini panegyrim epigramma ad lectorem cod., *om. ed.* 3 Aonidum cod.: Arnidum ed. *contra metrum* 5 cothurno *scripsi:* conturno ed., coturno cod. 6 leges cod.: legis ed.

5. *Sophocleo... cothurno:* Ponseвий nec Verg. *ecl.* 8,10 neque Ov. *am.* 1,5,15, sed ipsum Verinum in panegyrico imitatur (1,17-19): Fert animus magnos regis celebrare triumphos / Ferrandi sociaeque simul Martisque torique / gesta Sophocleo reginae ornare cothurno.

VI

APPENDIX

Io. Baptistae Pinelli Genuensis *Carminum liber tertius ad Perillustrem D.D. Thomam Pallavicinum* (Florentiae, in aedibus Philippi Iuntae, 1594), pp. 68-70 et 70-71.

Ad Dominicum Ponsevium

Dum Bacchum vi tueatur apprecaris
 pestilentis ab Africi furore,
 Ponsevi, teneros adhuc racemos
 uvae immitis et alveum vagatus
 ultra ni male vortice insolenti 5
 laeserit sata polliceris Arno
 et iuncos et arundines virentes:
 dum Laurus tibi dicitur perennis
 frondis, dum Ligurina, dum Nemella:
 grata dum Zephyri rogatur aura; 10
 o quam dulce canis, licet cicuta
 exili haec modulere, quam suave!
 Sed belli mala dura, sed retrorsum
 conversas acies, minasque Thracis
 fractas, et celerem fugam, gravesque 15
 strages, robur et Italiae iuventae,
 si quando Aonius calor citarit
 mentem versibus intonare, plectro
 tum vero graviore in astra surges:
 tum te carmina digna concinentem 20
 totus audiet orbis aure acuta;
 praesertim tibi cum sit, unde discas
 aeternare tuum per ora nomen
 vates Angelius, sepulchra vivens
 qui struxit sibi gloriosiora 25
 tuis molibus, o superba Memphi.
 Nullo Fama die minor futura
 solvi alis metuentibus merentem
 illum iam trepidavit elevare,
 quâ Thule ultima, quâque Bactra terris 30

terminos statuunt. Parem vetusta
 raro illi genuere saecula vatem,
 speret posteritas parem nec ullum;
 cuius qui volet explicare laudes,
 guttas Oceani et Lybissam arenam 35
 audacter prius et tacente nocte
 stellas enumerabit emicantes.
 Ergo, tu nimium beatus, illum
 qui potens es identidem tueri,
 illiusque frui adloquutione; 40
 cuius plenum opus ingenii et laboris
 par Aeneidos unicum ipse adoro
 supplex Syriada, instar usque et usque,
 Ponsevi, mihi numinis colendam!
 Sed tu, qui mihi, Amice, nuntiasti 45
 tanti nominis illum ineptiores
 nostros versiculos et impolitos
 legisse haud minima adprobatione,
 quas grates potero referre dignas,
 tibi ni omnia dextere augurari? 50

Ad eundem

Ponsevi, tibi quas dedi diebus
 elapsis modo litteras veneni
 num plenas ita pestilentiaeque
 fuisse? heu mihi tantum aculeorum,
 dirarumque habuisse et improborum 5
 pessimas, nimio dolore ut aeger
 in malam incideris repente febrim
 quae te perfida pene funerarit?
 Ah nigra alite litterae exaratae,
 insulae, illepidae, venustiorum 10
 vatium incommoda, devios abite
 in saltus nemorum reconditorum,
 et isthic abolescite impudentes!
 At vos versiculi auspicaciores,
 aspersi salibus, leporibusque, 15
 qui flectis salipusii Bidelli
 deflendum tumulum omnibus poetis,

tempus vivite in omne gloriosi;
si vos limine mortis a timendo
meum restituistis eruditum 20
vatem Ponsevium, ante quo immerentem
litterae impulerant ineptiores
nostrae, seu mage fascinationes:
nam quae dent mala non salutem amicis
iure non puto litteras vocandas. 25

De Ioanne Baptista Pinello (ob. a° 1630°) vide quae scripsit Ch.G. Jöcher, *Gelehrtenlexicon*, 3 (Leipzig, 1751 = Hildesheim, 1961) col. 1578; idem et carmina dedit ad Iosephum Boccam (lib. 1, pp. 7-8), Capponium (lib. 1, p. 22 et lib. 2, pp. 27-28), Puteum (lib. 2, p. 27) et Angelium de eius Syriade (lib. 2, pp. 28-29).

Bidellus autem qui dicitur (in posteriore carmine, v. 16) fortasse est Iulius Bidellus Senensis, Tuscus poeta (fl. 1550; cf. notitiae G.M. Mazzucchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia*, II, 1 (Brescia, 1760), pp. 1208-1209; quas exscripsit *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*); *salipusium* est i.q. *salaputium* (Catull. 53,5).

INSTRUMENTUM CRITICUM

Dirk SACRÉ

Andrea Navagero, *Lusus*: Three Textual Notes

With respect to the Padua edition of 1718, published by G. Antonio Volpi, the text of Navagero's *Lusus* (ed. princ. posth. Venice, 1530) could benefit by the work of three scholars. In 1940, Maria Antonietta Benassi published, among other things, some new *Lusus* from Italian manuscripts and drew attention to certain variants in the manuscript tradition¹. Benassi's article was overlooked by Alice Wilson, who reissued the *Lusus* in the *Bibliotheca Humanistica & Reformatorica* - series². Mrs. Wilson made Navagero's Latin poetry available to the general public. She noted the major variants in the main editions, but paid no attention at all to the manuscript evidence. Finally, in 1977 M. Cl. Griggio made an indispensable survey of the extant prints and manuscript sources of the *Lusus* and enriched the *Corpus Naugerianum* with 12 new poems - some of those no doubt not authentical³. I'd like to comment on three of the manuscript poems M. Griggio dealt with.

1. *Lusus* LXVIII (Griggio, p. 113; from the Ambrosian ms. J 48 inf, c. 27^r):

Esse atomos celeri tenuissima motu,
assidue immensum quae per inane meent,

* Aangesteld navorser bij het N.F.W.O.

¹ "Scritti inediti o mal conosciuti di Andrea Navagero", *Aevum*, 14 (1940), 240-254. There are several errors in Griggio's reference (cp. note 3) to this article (p. 100-101). Moreover, the second epigram published in *Aevum* is not XLII but LII (*Non ego sum pugnae assuetus nec fortibus armis*).

² Andrea Navagero, *Lusus. Text and Translation, Edited with an Introduction and with a Critical Commentary* by Alice E. Wilson, *Bibliotheca Humanistica & Reformatorica*, IX (Nieuwkoop, 1973).

³ C. Griggio, "Per l'edizione dei "Lusus" del Navagero", *Atti Istituto Veneto Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Classe di Scienze morali, Lettere ed Arti*, 135 (1976-1977), 87-111.

It is hardly surprising that this first attempt to make an inventory of the printed works of Navagero is not complete. For instance, *Lusus* XX and XLIV are also included in:

Thesaurus poematum, ex variis tam veteribus quam recentioribus poetis desumptus. Nunc primum in gratiam studiosae iuventutis quam emendatissime excusus (Cologne, 1605), pp. 128-132 and 132-135.

cunctarum hinc visum est Epicuro exordia rerum,
hinc elementa orbi prima fuisse novo. (...)

2. *meent cod.*: meant *Griggio*

In fact, the manuscript offers the better reading *meent*, which is grammatically satisfactory (Navagero summarizes Epicurus' atomic theory without agreeing with it). Naturally, the vocal clash (*meent*) didn't offend the poet's ear, as is shown by such parallels as *Lusus* 58, 10 (*recreent*).

2. *Lusus* X (*Griggio*, p. 104):

According to M. Griggio, the manuscript readings in the Milanese Ambros. J 48 inf, c. 28^v, correspond exactly to the printed version of this well-known epigram. To tell the truth, the manuscript version differs in a substantial way from the prints. Apparently, this manuscript text is a copy (of Navagero's poetry no autograph seems to have survived) of a first version, which was much shorter, reduced to its essential part; it offers different names for both the dog and his master. In transcribing these verses, I underline those that are identical in the printed versions.

Ante canes omnes domino dilectus Hylactor,
quo custode vagi nil timuere greges.

Ille quidem saeva vitulos tutatus ab ursa est,
ipse sed ingenti vulnere caesus obit.

Constituit tumulum meritorum haud immemor Almon:
haec voluit raram praemia habere fidem.

Maesta gemunt armenta, mali furesque lupique
extincto hoc sibi iam cuncta licere putant.

5 *Almon scripsi*: Almō *cod.* An Almo *legendus* (cf. *Lusum* 18^{um}, v. 1^{um})?

3. *Lusus* LXII, published by M. Griggio (p. 111) from Cod. Vat. Lat. 6250, c. 71^v; the text is evidently corrupt:

Dum putri tegit arva fimo bene culta ligone
Simulus ut segetes laetius uber alat
Suffirus pirumve facit de merce sabaea
naribus insinuet ve tibi taeter odor
quos urbe ex multo pauperculus aer paravit
dum facilem exoptant nunc sua vota dum
nonnulli flores sat erant hunc vincere odorem
quippe fimum hic positum tertia vidit hiems.

According to the editor, the transmission of these verses is too corrupt to allow even an interpretation⁴. Nevertheless, M. Griggio made two conjectures: in verse 4 he proposed *insinuet ne*, in verse 6 *vota diem*. I agree with the former emendation⁵, whereas the latter doesn't convince me; considering the presence of *facilem*, I think *deum* is more likely. *Aer* in verse 5 is doubtless a (metrically impossible) mistake for *aere*. *Pirum* is impossible with regard to the metre and the contents; because of *merx Sabaea* I would conjecture *pyram* (cp. CLAUDIAN., *carm. min.* 27 (Phoenix), 43: *Et tumulum texens pretiosa fronde Sabaeum*); for the same reason *Suffirus* can't be correct; the copyist was under the delusion that *Suffirus* was a proper name; but this makes no sense; moreover, one expects another object before *pyramve*. The copyist wasn't familiar with the word *suffitus* ("fumigation"), which occurs a few times in Pliny the Elder, a word to which Forcellini remarks that it "a multis (...) pro ture assumitur"; from his point of view, the copyist didn't understand *Suffirusve pyramve* and left out the first *-ve*; besides, *quos* in verse 5 can only refer to *suffitus*.

In my opinion, the epigram is to be read as follows:

Dum putri tegit arva fimo bene culta ligone
 Simulus, ut segetes laetius uber alat,
 suffitusve pyramve facit de merce Sabaea,
 naribus insinuet ne tibi taeter odor;
 quos urbe ex multo pauperculus aere paravit,
 dum facilem exoptant nunc sua vota deum.
 Nonnulli flores sat erant hunc vincere odorem:
 quippe fimum hic positum tertia vidit hiems.

In my interpretation, Navagero (or whoever wrote the epigram) laughs at the contradictory activities of Simulus; being a peasant (*pauperculus*), he procured inferior dung (*putri/ tertia vidit hiems*); on the other hand, both to implore the gods for fertility of the soil and to drive away the bad smell of the dung, he paid a lot for the *merx Sabaea*. But he could have attained both his ends with simple flowers, since the dung is too old; he then wouldn't have had to wait so long for a *facilis deus*: he could have spent more on the dung than on the incense.

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (K.U.L.)
 Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 111: "L'epigramma è a tal punto scorretto da non far intravedere, nonostante reiterati sforzi, la possibilità di un restauro testuale accettabile."

⁵ In the active *odor insinuet naribus* there might well be a reminiscence of Navagero's favourite poet, Lucretius, 6, 777-778: *Multa meant inimica per auris, multa per ipsas/ insinuant naris infesta atque aspera tactu.*

J. IJsewijn

CASTIGATIONES ERASMIANAE VIII

Erasmi *Opera Omnia* V 3(1986).

Proponuntur in hoc volumine Enarrationes Psalmorum quinque, nempe XXVIIIⁱ, XXXIIIⁱ, XXXVIIIⁱ, LXXXIIIⁱ, LXXXVⁱ.

1. Primum opusculum, quae est *Utilissima consultatio de bello Turcis inferendo et obiter enarratus psalmus XXVIII*, A.G. Weiler edidit atque utilissimis instruxit explanationibus historicis. Verba editionis principis Basileensis (1530) ab Erasmo nunquam mutata diligenter heic repetuntur. Semel, quod quidem vidi, typotheta erravit leviter p. 79,56, ubi legas “purpureum”.

Ad notas accedant haec: p.38, 218-220 Plinius, *N.H.* VI 19 paene ad verbum repetitur ab Erasmo. Plinii verba haec sunt: “Thussegetae, Tyrcae usque ad solitudines saltuosas convallibus asperas, ultra quas Arimphaei qui ad Ripaeos pertinent montes.”

p. 39, ad 220: Pomponii Melae libellus chorographicus non iam laudari potest in editione saeculi XIXⁱ ineuntis, siquidem multo extant recentiores sicut Teubneriana, dein Gothoburgensis a G. Randstrand anno 1971 curata, denique Romana anno 1984 prolata a Petro G. Parroni. Corrigatur etiam loci signum, quod est I (19) 116.

p. 39, ad 223: desideratur locus (pseudo-)Cyprianeus. Est *De duplici Martyrio* cap. 27: “Si quis miles iuratus in verba Caesaris, profugeret ad Turcam...”

2. Tres, quae sequuntur Enarrationes, edidit R. Stupperich theologus at, eheu! arte carens philologica. Forte fortuna textus non magnopere corrumpi potuerunt, quia traditio plerumque simplicissima est. At erranti et vaga interpunctione totus saepe amittitur sensus, in notis autem saepius sive errore sive silentio peccatum est quam ut in hac editione Erasmi excusari possit. Ceterum has congressi notulas:

A) Ad *Enarrationem Psalmi XXXIII*ⁱ.

p. 99,154 pro “quemque” lege “quamque”;

p. 105,405 litteris italicis imprimatur oportet: “et collabebatur...eo-

rum”; item p. 106,419-20: “impingebat...portae”; 423: “ad ostia civitatis”; 424: “ad ostia portae”; 425: “ne...meam”.

p. 109,535 lege “enarratores”; 557-58: “Spem...dolorem” versus est Vergilii, *Aen.* I 209.

p. 110,571 pro “Metiuntur” lege “Mentiuntur”;

p. 114,717 ad raram vocem μωρόσοφοι, quam sumpsit Erasmus ex *Alexandro* Luciani, utile erit locum *Alexandri* adducere ab ipso Erasmo versum: “qui desipienter sapientes sunt” (ASD I 1, p. 462,33).

p. 115,770 lege “peccatorum”;

p. 122,31 lege “scripturarum”;

p. 123,84 litteris italicis scribendum est: “laudabitur anima mea”; item 85: “glorabitur”. — Qui sunt illi “Hebraicarum litterarum periti”, ad quos refert Erasmus? Quodsi qui sint ignoratur, aperte dicatur!

p. 127,231 lege “attollimus”;

p. 128,272 “ubique pavor...imago” denuo est versus Vergilianus, *Aen.* II 369.

p. 130 desideratur nota explicativa de quaestionibus praedestinationis (ad 343) et liberi arbitrii (ad 348).

p. 131,385 scribe “prius quam”;

p. 133,460 litteris italicis scribendum: “immittet”;

p. 134,480 lege “plenum”; 492 litteris italicis scribe “circumdat” et “circundabit”;

p. 135,547 lege “ex” pro “et”;

p. 142,831 lege “ne non” pro “non ne”;

p. 148,64 lege “benedicite”;

p. 149,96 Lexicon Lewis-Short cur adducatur ut *cicurandi* verbum explanetur omnino me fugit; nam et multo rariora verba leguntur (e.g. *chameuniis*, p. 148,71), quae altissimo premuntur silentio. Utinam pro huiusmodi notulis omnino supervacaneis editio indice verborum rariorum et significantiorum ornaretur!

p. 152,189 Hoc loco adnotatio silet ubi loqui debet: nam ubi Erasmus quaestionem de martyribus bis solvit? Quodsi ignoratur, aperte ignorantiam nostram fateamur. Non turpe est ignorare quaedam, turpe autem difficultates silentio praeterire quasi non essent.

B) Ad *Enarrationem Psalmi XXXVIII*¹

p. 170,46 lege ὑπερασπιστῆς;

p. 172,38; 177,255; 208,389 lege “tamen”;

p. 174,112 vide et Aulum Gellium IV 13.

p. 176,192-93 "prosa", quam Erasmus in mente habuit, est hymnus ille *Salutis humanae sator* (saec. VII-VIII).

p. 182,411 lege "humanam"; 428 lege "Boetius";

p. 183,459 lege "porro";

p. 185,532-33 desideratur loci fons antiquus.

p. 186,581 "Quis...temperet a lachrymis" tertius est versus Vergilianus, *Aen.* II 6 et 8.

p. 187,628 Non est cur verba Erasmi mutantur. Nam locum biblicum libere laudavit.

p. 190, ad 737 de verbis "Calliopius recensui" olim male intellectis vide potius W.F. Michael, *Frühformen der deutschen Bühne* (Berolini 1963), pp. 70-74.

p. 195,917 lege "domino", non "Domino". Non agitur de Deo, verum de hero servi.

p. 196 ad 930 sqq. Hilarii libri *De Trinitate* non iam in prisca illa *Patrologia* legantur, sed in editione critica *Corporis Christianorum*, quam annis 1979-80 curavit P. Smulders. Hoc in genere dictum sit de editionibus veterum auctorum adhibendis.

p. 203,188-89 "Sed volat...verbum" est versus Horatianus (*Epist.* I 18.71) libere allatus.

p. 203,206-07 Zosimus falso fons esse loci dicitur. Nam historicus ille non ea narrat, quae adfert Erasmus, et accedit quod Erasmi tempore nondum typis erat editus! Verus fons est Plutarchus, *Mor.* 207c.

p. 205,275 lege "committatur"

p. 215,673 "Aquila non capit muscas" est Adagium 2165. Ad illud "in murem non saevit leo" confer H. Walther, *Lateinische Sprichwörter*, *H-O* (Gottingae 1983), p. 289, n° 37855b "Leones papilionibus non molesti".

p. 218,768 lege "sortem", non "fortem". Quousque tandem, Erasmi editores, f et longiorem s litteras confundetis!

p. 219,828 lege "circumactam";

p. 226,91 lege "ab" pro "ad";

p. 227,133-34 "Tam ficti...veri" quartus iam est versus Vergilianus, *Aen.* IV 188.

p. 229,216 lege "irritatus"

p. 233,356-57 est Iuvenalis XIV 61. Satis erat aperire *Thesaurum Linguae Latinae*, s. v. aranea, ut subito fons innotesceret...

p. 236,464-65 breviter refert Plautum, *As.* 99-100.

p.240,618 lege "succumberet";

p. 242,712 “ut ante attigimus”: ubi attigit Erasmus? Denuo desideratur explanatio necessaria.

C) *De Sarcinda Ecclesiae concordia* (sive Enarratio Psalmi LXXXIIIⁱ).

In fine introductionis (p. 254) paucissimis verbis opusculum a J.V. Pollet docte conscriptum dimittitur, ne dicam condemnatur. At ni omnia fallunt noster hoc opusculum Gallice scriptum male intellexit ac philosophum Italicum Augustinum Steuchum confudit cum theologo Hispano Jacobo Stunica!! Accedit quod nihil dicitur de modo textus constituendi.

p. 261,110 lege “insequuturis”;

p. 262, ad 162-163: Erasmus haud loquitur de monachis, verum de christianis omnibus.

p. 266,276-278 hic locus contrahit Iuvenalem XV 1-9, non unum versum XV 4.

p. 275, ad 545 et p. 283, ad 839 libri laudantur, at paginae, quas scire vult lector, desiderantur.

p. 284,920 lege “quae”;

p. 286,995 lege “diverbiis”;

p. 288,44 lege “quemadmodum”;

p. 289,88 lege “attollat”;

p. 295, nota ad 295 quomodo ad rem pertineat non liquet; nota ad 274 erit utilior si Lactanti verba adducentur: “O mentem Cimmeriis ut aiunt tenebris atriores” (*Inst.* V 3.23); de inferis soli loquuntur poetae (Val.Fl. III 399 etc.).

p. 312 nota ad 894 gravissimo laborat errore. Erasmus clarissime scripsit puerorum baptisma Augustini tempore tam veterem fuisse consuetudinem ut iam auctor eius ignoraretur itaque putat fieri posse ut ipsi apostoli puerile baptisma instituerint.

3. Ultima enarratio sive *Concionalis Interpretatio in Psalmum LXXXV* edita est a C.S.M. Rademaker. Quanto opere bilem philologicam tres Enarrationes antecedentes moverunt, tanto autem gaudio haec editio iudicem perfudit. Est enim revera palmaris. Tanta ubique nitet cura, tanta perfectione in verbis recensendis et notis adiungendis ut vix sit quod desideres. Utinam reliqua, quae parantur volumina Amstelodamensia, hanc editionem sibi semper sumant in exemplum!

p. 330,19 lege “pro in”, non “proin”;

p. 358,782-785 praeter locos similes ab editore allatos vide etiam *Moriam*, ASD IV 3, p. 122.

p. 378,336 lege “Apollinis”;

p. 384,507 lege “Ad quid”.

INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM

NEOLATINUM

apparaverunt

J. IJsewijn, G. Tournoy, D. Sacré, M. de Schepper

Appellatio ad auctores:

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 LEUVEN, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

SIGLA:

- BHR* = *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* (Genève).
Coll. Europ. I = *Erasmus in Hispania - Vives in Belgio. Acta Colloquii Brugensis 23-26 IX 1985*. Ediderunt J. IJsewijn et A. Losada, *Colloquia Europalia*, I (Leuven, Peeters, 1986).
Commemoratio = *Commemoratio: Studi di filologia in ricordo di Riccardo Ribuoli*, a cura di S. Prete (Sassoferrato/Italia, Istituto internazionale di studi Piceni, 1986).
Dialogue = Jones-Davies Marie-Thérèse (ed.), *Le dialogue au temps de la Renaissance* (Paris, J. Touzot, 1984).
Ende Renaissance = Buck A. - Klaniczay T. (edd.), *Das Ende der Renaissance: Europäische Kultur um 1600: Vorträge*, Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung, 6 (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1987).
GSLI = *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* (Torino).
HL = *Humanistica Lovaniensia* (Leuven).
JMRS = *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (Durham, N.C.).
Munari = *Kontinuität und Wandel. Lateinische Poesie von Naevius bis Baudelaire. Franco Munari zum 65. Geburtstag*. Hrsg. von U.J. Stache, W. Maaz und F. Wagner (Hildesheim, Weidmann, 1986).
Raabe = Buck A. - Bircher M. (edd.), *Respublica Guelpherbytana. Wolfenbütteler Beiträge zur Renaissance- und Barockforschung. Festschrift für Paul Raabe*, Chloe, Beihefte zum Daphnis, 6 (Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1987).
RePuLi = *Res Publica Litteraria* (vide infra sub 1.2: Historica).

- RIN** = *Rinascimento* (Firenze).
RPL = *Respublica Litterarum* (Lawrence, Kansas).
RQ = *Renaissance Quarterly* (New York).
Tarugi 1986 = *Validità Perenne dell'Umanesimo*, 1: *Angelo Cini de' Ambrogini e la universalità del suo umanesimo: Atti del XXV convegno ... Montepulciano ... 1983*; 2: *L'Umanesimo nel passato e nel presente: Atti del XXVI convegno ... 1984*, a cura di Giovannangiola Tarugi (Firenze, Olschki, 1986).
Thill = *De Virgile à Jacob Balde. Hommage à M^{me} Andrée Thill. Études recueillies par G. Freyburger*, Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Mulhouse, XV (Mulhouse-Paris, Belles Lettres, 1987).
WBN = *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* (Wiesbaden).
WRM = *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen* (Wiesbaden).

1. GENERALIA

1.1. Bibliographica

- Bibliographie internationale de l'Humanisme et de la Renaissance*, XVIII: *Travaux parus en 1982* (Genève, Droz, 1986).
 Cranz F.E. - Brown Virginia - Kristeller P.O. (edd.), *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries, Annotated Lists and Guides*, vol. VI (Washington D.C., Cath. U. of America Press, 1986).
 Haller B., *Der Buchdruck Münsters 1485 bis 1583: eine Bibliographie* (Münster, Regensburg 1985).
 Kinney D., "Latin middle and late: mundus alter et idem", in W.C. McDonald (ed.), *The Current State of research in fifteenth-century Literature: Germania - Romania*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 442 (Göppingen 1986), pp. 177-207.
The Neo-Latin News XXXIV, in: *Seventeenth Century News* (Pennsylvania State University, 1986).
 Upton C.A., "Neo-Latin", *The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies*, 47 (1985 [1986]), 22-27.

1.2. Historica

- Res Publica Litteraria. Die Institutionen der Gelehrsamkeit in der frühen Neuzeit*. Vorträge und Referate gehalten anlässlich des 5. Jahrestreffens des Internationalen Arbeitskreises für Barockliteratur in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel vom 25. bis 28. März 1985 (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1987).
 Buck A., "Montaigne und die Krise des Humanismus", in *Ende Renaissance*, pp. 7-21.
 Clérico Geneviève, "Ramisme et post-Ramisme: La répartition des 'arts' au XVI^e siècle", *Histoire Epistémologie Langage*, 8 (1986), 53-70.

Tarnai A., "Deutschland als Zentrum der internationalen lateinischen Dichtung im Späthumanismus", in *Ende Renaissance*, pp. 155-164.

ITALIA

Hausmann Fr.-R., "Datierte Quattrocento-Handschriften lateinischer Dichter (Tibull, Catull, Properz, Ovid-Epistula Sapphus ad Phaonem, Martial, Carmina Priapea) und ihre Bedeutung für die Erforschung des italienischen Humanismus", in *Munari*, pp. 598-632.

McManamon J.M.: vide infra 4.1.

Prete S., *Considerazioni sull'Umanesimo* (Salerno, Cuzzola ed., 1985).

Storey H. Wayne, "Quattrocento Italy: Humanist and Vernacular Literary Culture", in W.C. McDonald (ed.), *The Current State of research in fifteenth-century Literature: Germania-Romania*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 442 (Göppingen 1986), pp. 123-152.

Tateo F., "La presa di Gallipoli e il mito di Venezia", in *Atti del Convegno naz. su "La presa di Gallipoli nel 1484 ed i rapporti tra Venezia e Terra d'Otranto" (Gallipoli ... 1984)* (Bari, Editrice Tipografica, 1986), pp. 21-26. Adducuntur M.A. Cocceius Sabellicus, J.J. Pontanus, Hermolaus Barbarus jr., Antonius Galateus de Ferrariis.

Tedeschi J., "The Cultural Contributions of Italian Protestant Reformers in the Late Renaissance", *Schifanoia* (Ferrara, Ist. di Studi Rinascimentali), 1 (1986), 127-151.

ITALIA: NEAPOLIS: Bentley J.H., "Il mecenatismo culturale di Ferrante I d'Aragona", *Esperienze letterarie*, 12 (Napoli 1987), 3-19.

ITALIA: PARMA

Parma e l'umanesimo italiano. Atti del convegno internaz. di studi umanistici (Parma, 20 ottobre 1984), a cura di Paola Medioli Masotti, Medioevo e Umanesimo, 60 (Padova, Antenore, 1986).

ITALIA: PATAVIUM: Vide infra 4.1: Bernardinello.

ITALIA: ROMA

Reynolds Anne, "The Classical Continuum in Roman Humanism: the Festival of Pasquino, the *Robigalia* and Satire", *BHR* 49 (1987), 289-307.

Ruysschaert J., "La Bibliothèque Vaticane dans les dix premières années du Pontificat de Sixte IV", *Archivum Historiae Pontif.* 24 (1986), 71-90.

ITALIA: VENETIAE

King Margaret L., *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton N.J. - Guilford, Princeton U.P., 1986).

HISPANIA

Alcina Rovira J.F., "Erasmismo y Poesía en España", in *Coll. Europ. I*, pp. 197-214. Tractat poetas hos: Alvarum Gomezium de Civitate regia; Alphonsum de Guadelupa; Christophorum Cabrera; Benedictum Arias Montanum.

García Martínez S., "El erasmismo en la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XVI", in *Coll. Europ. I*, pp. 215-290.

FRANCIA

Cecchetti D., *L'evoluzione del latino umanistico in Francia*, Rubricae, 3

(F-75227 Paris Cedex 5, Ed. Cemi, [B.P. 254], 1986). Tractat Nicolai de Clamengis Latinitatem.

Vide et infra 4.2: Thuanus, et 7.1 Thomson.

Sacré T., "De commentariis menstuis ineunte saeculo XIX Parisiis Latine editis, c. (sic!) t. 'Hermes Romanus'", *Vita Latina*, num. 105 (m. Martio 1987), 10-16. In fine iterum excuditur Barberii carmen uxoris in obitum.

LUSITANIA

Das Dores Figueiredo Martins Isaltina, *Bibliografia do Humanismo en Portugal no Século XVI*, Textos humanísticos Portugueses, 3 (Coimbra, Centro de Estudos Clássicos e Humanísticos da Universidade de Coimbra, 1986).

BELGIUM VETUS

Mout Nicolette, "Abschied vom Erasmianismus. Humanisten und der niederländische Aufstand", in *Ende Renaissance*, pp. 63-80; — vide et sub 2.1: Guépin et sub 7.2: Chytraeus.

BELGIUM VETUS: FRANEQUERA

Disputationes exercitii gratia. Een inventarisatie van disputaties verdedigd onder Sibrandus Lubbertus prof. theol. te Franeker 1585-1625. Met een ten geleide door J. Veenhof (Amsterdam, VU uitgeverij 1985). Continet indices respondentium, poetarum elogiorum, argumentorum...

BELGIUM VETUS: GELRIA

Bastiaanse R. - Evers M., "Ontwikkelingen binnen het onderwijs aan de Gelderse Latijnse scholen in de 17de en 18de eeuw", *Bijdragen en mededelingen Vereniging Gelre*, 77 (1986), 68-91.

BELGIUM VETUS: HOOG-CRUTS

De la Haye R., "De Latijnse School van Hoog-Cruts. Met een lijst van leerlingen", *Publications de la Société historique et archéologique dans le Limbourg*, 122 (1986), 102-148.

ANGLIA

Baker-Smith D., "'Great Expectation': Sidney's Death and the Poets", in *Sir Philip Sidney. 1586 and the Creation of a Legend*, ed. by J. Van Dorsten, D. Baker-Smith, A.F. Kinney (Leiden, Brill, 1986), pp. 83-103. De carminibus funebribus post Sidnei mortem Oxonii, Cantabrigiae et Lugduni Batavorum editis, imprimis de *Academiae Cantabrigiensis Lachrymis* (Londini, 1587). In appendice eduntur carmina duo Jacobi regis Scotorum, unum Aegidii Fletcher.

Dowling Maria, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (Dover, New Hampshire-London-Sidney, Croom Helm, 1986).

Fox A. - Guy J., *Reassessing the Henrician Age: Humanism, Politics and Reform 1500-1550* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1986).

GERMANIA

Forster L., "Lessing und die neulateinische Literatur", *Lessing Yearbook*, 18 (Wayne State U.P., 1986), 69-75; — vide et 4.2: Mencken.

Hammerstein N., "Universitätsgeschichte im Heiligen Römischen Reich

Deutscher Nation am Ende der Renaissance", in *Ende Renaissance*, pp. 109-123.

Vide supra 1.1: Haller; 1.2: Tarnai.

GERMANIA: AUSTRIA

Michaud Ch., "Laudatio et carmen post mortem. Nachrufe auf Maria Theresia in Frankreich und Belgien", in *Österreich im Europa der Aufklärung ... Internationales Symposium in Wien... 1980* (Wien, 1985), 2, pp. 673-700.

HUNGARIA

Keserü B., "Heterodoxie und Späthumanismus im östlichen Mitteleuropa", in *Ende Renaissance*, pp. 49-62.

Kurucz Gyula - Szörényi L. (edd.), *Hungaria Literata, Europae filia* (Budapest, Magyar Könyvkiadók ..., 1985).

POLONIA

Zabłocki St., "Die Polnischen Neulateiner als Vorgänger des jungen Kochanowski", in *Raabe*, pp. 211-224. Sunt Cricius et Ianicius.

RUSSIA

Дергогин А.А. - Пукьянова Л.М., *Латинский Язык* (Moskva, Высшая школа, 1986). Enchiridion hoc linguae Latinae discendae pp. 228-237 specimina exhibet Latinitatis Russicae: Theophanes Procopović, *Laudatio Borysthenis*, versibus heroicis; Michael Lomonosov, *Panegyricus Elisabethae Augustae Russiarum imperatrici patrio sermone dictus... Latine redditus eodem auctore*; Ph.E. Korsch (1843-1915), *epigrammata*; *Flos Alexandri Pusckin* (versio); G.E. Sängner (*1853), *carmina II et epigrammata*; Iacobus M. Borovius Leninopolitanus, *carmina II*. Cf. *Vox Latina*, 22 (1986), 432-437.

IAPONIA

Harada H., "De Latinarum litterarum initiis quae fuerunt in Iaponia", *Vox Latina*, 23 (1987), 50-59. De scriptoribus Iaponiae Latinis saeculi XVI.

AMERICA

Vide infra 2.1: Traina; 4.2: Vives: Losada.

MEXICUM

Vargas Alquicira Silvia, *Catálogo de Obras latinas impresas en México durante el siglo XVI*, Cuadernos del Centro de Estudios Clásicos, 16 (Mexico, U.N.A.M., 1986). Non solum libros descripsit, sed permultas etiam epistolas necnon varia carmina integra adfert.

Vide etiam 1.3: Quiñones.

AFRICA

Gérard A.S., "Modern African Writting in Latin", in Id. (ed.), *European-language Writing in Sub-Saharan Africa, A Comparative History of Literatures in European Languages*, vol. VI (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986), pp. 49-56.

1.3. Litteraria

Dietz Moss J. (ed.), *Rhetoric and Praxis. The Contribution of Classical Rhetoric*

- to *Practical Reasoning* (Washington D.C., Catholic U. of America Press, 1986).
- Fothergill-Payne Louise, "The Jesuits as Masters of Rhetoric and Drama", *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, 10 (1986), 375-386. I.a. agitur de fabula c.t. *Historia Filerini* partim Latine partim Hispanice scripta atque in collegio "de Jerez de la Frontera" acta.
- Kushner Eva, "Théorie et pratique du dialogue à la Renaissance: exemples en langue latine", *Zagadnienia Rodzajów Literackich*, 26 (1985), 13-20.
- Murphy J.J. (ed.), *Renaissance Rhetoric. Key Texts, A.D. 1479-1602*. A Microfiche Collection of important texts from the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Edited and with an introduction by J.J.M. (Microforms International, Inc., Pergamon Press, Fairview Park, Elmsford, N.Y. 10523/Headington Hill Hall, Oxford OX3 OBW, UK).
- Pfeiffer H., "Palindrome zwischen den Sprachen", *Sprachkunst*, 16 (1985), 283-287.
- Quiñones Melgoza J., *Ramillete neolatino (Europa-México, siglos XV-XVIII)*. *Introducción, textos anotados y un copioso apéndice*, Serie Didáctica, 11 (Mexico, U.N.A.M., 1986). Florilegium poeticum et prosaicum, quo continentur excerpta e Politiano, Scaligero, D. Heinsio, Iriarte, Glareano, Ioanne Loe, Farnabio, Nicolao Heinsio, Tuccio, Petro Florio, Villanova, Raphaele Landivar, Nicolao Antonio, de Eguiara. Anthologumenis adnotatis praefigitur introductio copiosa.
- Sociedad española de estudios clásicos, *VII Congreso español de Estudios clásicos. Relacion de congresistas y programa de actos. Madrid, 20 al 24 de Abril de 1987*. Lectae sunt complures relationes de scriptoribus hispanolatinis recentioris aetatis (ut sunt: Nebrissensis, Brocensis, Sepulveda, Joannes de Pastrana, Emmanuel Martinus, J. Iriarte, Frater Joannes de Cuenca, J.E. Miñana, Antonius Augustinus, Ben. Arias Montanus); item de italīs (Pierius Valerianus, Cataldus Siculus, Lucius Marineus, Iannotius Manettus), gallīs (Claudius de Bronseval) et Canariensi (de Anchieta).

1.4. *Linguistica*

- Bertrand C., "Le latin des Jésuites wallons de Liège au 17^e siècle: analyse factorielle", *Informatique et statistique dans les sciences humaines*, 20 (1984 [1986]), 23-39. Tractat opuscula Alberti Croissant e S.I. (1597-1651).
- Cecchetti D.: vide 1.2: Francia.
- Hubka: vide 4.1: Comenius.
- Kelly L.G., "Medicine, Learned Ignorance, and Style in Seventeenth-Century Translation", *Language and Style*, 19 (1986), 11-20.
- La Ponctuation: Recherches historiques et actuelles. Actes de la Table Ronde internationale CNRS de mai 1978* (Paris-Besançon, 1979).
- Löfstedt B.: vide 4.2: Rabelaesius.
- Tavoni M., "On the Renaissance Idea that Latin Derives from Greek", *Annali Scuola Norm. Sup. Pisa, Cl. Lett. e filos.* s. 3, 16 (1986), 205-238.
- Thomson: vide 7.1. — Viti P.: vide 3.2: Pisanus.

1.5. *Thematica*

- Echard Gw., "Aspects of Christian Humanism in French Renaissance Prefaces to the Classics", in *Proceedings of the PMR Conference 1979* (Villanova Univ., Penns., Augustinian Historical Institute, 1979), 4, pp. 41-50.
- Herding O., "Erasmische Friedensschriften im 17. Jahrhundert: *Querela Pacis*", in *Colloque érasmien de Liège* (Paris, Belles Lettres 1987), pp. 223-237. Proponuntur scriptores erasmiani: Ioh. Guil. Stuckius Tigurinus (*Irene Gallica*, Turici 1601), J. Lipsius (*Oratio de Concordia*, Jenae 1573), Michael Virdung (*De Concordia et Discordia...*, Altorfii 1611 [dicta 1604]); Ioannes Angelus [Engelke] von Werdenhagen (*Diae Pacis et Concordiae Efflagitationes*, Francofurti M. 1642) etc.
- Krummacker H.-H., "'De quatuor novissimis'. Über ein traditionelles theologisches Thema bei Andreas Gryphius", in *Raabe*, pp. 499-577.
- Sacré T., "Quid poetae scriptoresve de tabaco senserint vel scripserint", *Vox Latina*, 22 (1986), 540-545. Supplementum ad I. McFarlane, "Tobacco — A Subject for Poetry", in D.H. Green, L.P. Johnson, D. Wuttke (edd.), *From Wolfram and Petrarch to Goethe and Grass. Studies... L. Forster* (Baden-Baden, 1982), pp. 427-441.
- Tournoy G., "Arturmaterie in de Renaissance", in *Arturus Rex*. Vol. I: *Catalogus...* edd. W. Verbeke, J. Janssens, M. Smeyers, Mediaevalia Lovaniensia I xvi (Leuven U.P. 1987), pp. 168-174 (vide et pp. 157-160: Galfridi Monmuthensis editiones humanisticae apud Badium Ascensium e.a.). Brevis conspectus fortunae, qua usa est fabula de Arturo rege apud scriptores neolatinos (e.g. J.L. Vivem), qui apud Belgas floruerunt.
- AESOPUS: Carnes P., "Heinrich Steinhöwel and the Sixteenth-century Fable Tradition", *HL*, 35 (1986), 1-29.
- ANACREON(TEA): Kühlmann W., "'Amor liberalis'. Ästhetischer Lebensentwurf und Christianisierung der neulateinischen Anacreontik in der Ära des europäischen Späthumanismus", in *Ende Renaissance*, pp. 165-186. Poesis Anacreontica neolatina investigatur a quo Henricus Stephanus anno 1554^o corpus (pseudo-)anacreonticum edidit. Exempla petuntur diversis e poetis ut J.C. Scaligero et imprimis Gasparo Barthio (1587-1658).
- ARISTOTELES: vide infra 4.1: Olivieri; 4.2: Politianus *Lamia*.
- CICERO: Freedman J.S., "Cicero in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Rhetoric Instruction", *Rhetorica* 4 (1986), 227-254.
- DEMOSTHENES: vide infra 4.2: Brunus Leonardus.
- ENNIUS: vide infra 4.2: Scaliger Josephus Justus.
- EURIPIDES: vide infra 4.2: Victorius.
- HERODOTUS: Van der Poel M., "Herodotus in de tijd van het Renaissancistisch humanisme", *Lampas* 20 (1987), 227-233.
- HORATIUS: Kytzler B., *Horaz*, Artemis Einführungen, 17 (München-Zürich, 1985). Tractat etiam Horati fortunam apud neolatinos.
- HIERONYMUS: Rice E., *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore, J. Hopkins U.P., 1985).
- LUCIANUS: Lauvergnat-Gagnière Christiane, *Lucien de Samosate et le Lucianisme en France au XVI^e siècle. Athéisme et polémique*, Travaux d'Humanisme et

- Renaissance (Genève, Droz, 1987); — Sidwell K., "Manoscritti umanistici di Luciano, in Italia, nel Quattrocento", *RPL* 9 (1986), 241-253.
- LUCRETIUS: vide infra 4.2: Francus; Pius.
- MARTIALIS: vide infra 4.2: Perottus.
- PLATO: vide infra 4.2: Ficinus/Allen.
- PRISCIANUS: vide infra 4.2: Petrarca/Basile.
- SENECA: vide infra 3.1: Braden.
- SOPHOCLES: vide infra 4.2: Victorius.
- STATIUS: vide infra 2.2: Parrhasius.
- TERENTIUS: vide infra 4.2: Politianus/Cesarini Martinelli.
- THUCYDIDES: vide infra 4.2: Valla/Pade.
- TIBULLUS: Pizzani U., "Il *corpus Tibullianum* e le sue aporie tra medioevo e umanesimo", in *Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi su Albio Tibullo* (Roma, Centro di Studi Ciceroniani/Istituto di Studi Romani, 1986), pp. 141-166.
- VERGILIUS: *Enciclopedia Virgiliana diretta da F. Della Corte*, edita dall'Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1: *A-DA* (Roma, 1984); — Giebel Marion, *Vergil. Mit Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten dargestellt*, Rowohlt Monographien, 353 (Reinbek, 1986). Attingitur etiam Vergili fortuna apud scriptores neolatinos; — vide et infra 2.2: Latinus Joannes.
- Vide et infra 4.2: Erasmus/Rummel.

1.6. Scientifica

- Frangenberg Th., "The Image and the Moving Eye: Jean Pélerin (Viator) to Guidobaldo del Monte", *Journal Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 49 (1986), 150-171. Scriptores latini tractantur hi: Leo Baptista Albertus, *De pictura* (1435); Joannes Viator, *De artificiali perspectiva* (Tulli 1505 et 1509; denuo ed. W.M. Ivins, *On the Rationalization of Sight*, Novi Eboraci, 1973); Daniel Barbarus, *Scenographia pictoribus et sculptoribus perutilis* (ca. 1570; Venetiis, Bibl. Marc., cod. lat. VIII 41, 3069); Guidobaldus de Monte, *Perspectivae libri sex* (Pisauri, 1600).
- Kuylen J. - Oldenburger-Ebbers C.S. - Wijnands D.O., *Paradisus Batavus. Bibliografie van plantencatalogi van onderwijstuinen, particuliere tuinen en kwekerscollecties in de Noordelijke en Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1550-1830)* (Wageningen, Pudoc, 1983).
- Surdich Fr., "La scoperta del nuovo mondo e la cultura scientifica italiana del XVI e XVII secolo", *Columbeis* 2 (Univ. Genova 1987), pp. 325-352. Agitur imprimis de operibus botanicis.
- Vanpaemel G., *Echo's van een wetenschappelijke revolutie. De mechanistische natuurwetenschap aan de Leuvense Artesfaculteit (1650-1797)*, Verhandelingen Kon. Academie W.L.S.K. van België, Klasse der Wetenschappen, 48 (Brussel, 1986), num. 173. Eduntur (1) Theses LI anno 1732 Lovanii propositae (corrigit in 17: undulatorius motus, non umbulatorius; 24: cernitur 1, non cernitura; 26: ex venis, non est venis) (pp. 171-172); (2) Experimenta physica exhibita in Schola Artium anno 1762° (pp. 173-180): agunt de divisibilitate materiae, de varia figura corporum, de corporum

porositate et compressibilitate, de motu, de vi centrifuga, de instrumentis mechanicis, de gravitate, de centro gravitatis, de hydrostatica, de tubis capillaribus, de barometris, de electricitate, etc.

1.8. *Didactica*

Schwarz F.F., *Altertum und Gegenwart: kritische Reflexionen zum Bildungswert antiker Kultur*, Neue Erwachsenenbildung, 9 (Graz-Wien, Leykam, 1982).
Attinguntur Valla, Erasmus et Gualterus Haddon (pp. 32-37 offertur interpretamentum carminis c.t. In *Marcum Tullium Ciceronem*).

2. POETICA

2.1. *Generalia*

Briesemeister D., "Episch-dramatische Humanistendichtung zur Eroberung von Granada (1492)", in A. de Toro (ed.), *Texte - Kontexte - Strukturen ... Festschrift K.A. Blüher* (Tübingen, G. Narr Verlag, 1987), pp. 249-263.
Tractantur imprimis Caroli Verardi (1440-1500) *Historia Baetica*, Pauli Pompilii *Panegyris de triumpho Granatensi* (Romae, 1492?) et Ugolini Verini (1438-1516) *Panegyricon*.

Cameron J.K., "Leaves from the lost Album Amicorum of Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit", *Scottish Studies* 28 (1987), 35-48. Inter amicos, qui epigrammata Albo tribuerunt, sunt Daniel Heinsius, Justinus Arondeaus/Arondeaulx Zelandus e.a. Album scriptum est a m. Febr. 1620 ad Febr. 1621 apud Scotos, Batavos et Zelandos.

Carmina Latina recentiora veterum tibiis canunt nepotes. Editio tertia (Leichlingen, R. Brune, 1986). Recentissimorum carminum editio auctior.

De Schepper M., "Dulce vitae condimentum amicitia: Het Album Amicorum van Florentius van Oyen (1603)", in Cockx-Indestege Elly en Hendrickx Fr. (edd.), *Miscellanea Neerlandica. Opstellen voor Dr. Jan Deschamps* (Leuven, Peeters, 1987), t. III, pp. 229-248. Album Florentii Van Oyen Leidensis (nunc servatum Bruxellis in Bibl. Regia, V.H. B. 320 A L.P.) i. a. vota et epigrammata continet Pauli Merulae, J.J. Scaligeri, Bonaventurae Vulcanii. *Emblematica*, I (1986). Novi sunt commentarii, quibus i.a. continentur Manning J., "Continental Emblem Books in Sixteenth-century England: The Evidence of Sloane Ms. 3794" (1-11); Tung M., "From Natural History to Emblem: A Study of Peacham's Use of Camerarius's *Symbola et Emblemata*" (53-76); Young A.R., "Facsimiles, Microform Reproductions, and Modern Editions of Emblem Books" (109-156; librorum index utilis); Daly P.M., "Directions in Emblem Research ... Past and Present" (159-174); Manning J., "Alciati and Philostratus" *Icones* (207-210); "Research Reports" (191-204).

Editor est AMS Press, 56 East 13th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Fischer Kl.-D., "*Quo sanam servare queat moderamine vitam*". *Lateinische Lehrgedichte zur Gesundheitspflege von 1490-1803 und ihre ärztlichen Verfasser*, Habilitationsschrift... für das Fach Geschichte der Medizin (F.U.

- Berlin, Inst. für Geschichte der Medizin, 1986). tractantur poetae XV a Baptista Fiera (*Coena*, ca. 1494) ad Joannem Christ. Ant. Sonnenburg subconnectorem Schoeningensem (*Carmen macrobion*, Helmstadii, 1803).
- Guépin J.P., "Het Bataafse Oor. Drie eeuwen Latijnse poëzie door Nederlanders geschreven", *Tweede Ronde*, 7, num. 4 (Amsterdam, 1986-1987), 135-147. De poetis batavo-latinis saec. XVI-XVIII. In isdem commentariis Amstelodamensibus idem auctor carmina selecta Nederlandice versa proposuit (pp. 87-134). Praecedunt litterae humanisticae Nederlandice versae, curantibus eodem et H.-J. Van Dam (pp. 62-85); — Id., "Het enthousiasme van dichters", *Bzzletin*, num. 144 (m. Martio 1987), 47-56. De poetis e S.I. Latinis, imprimis Sarbievio et Baldeo.
- Moss Ann, "Latin Liturgical Hymns and Their Early Printing History 1470-1520", *HL*, 36 (1987), 112-138.
- Sacré T., "Observationes quaedam metricae", *Vox Latina*, 22 (1986), 204-212.
- Traina A., "Neolatino Nordamericano", *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione classica*, 114 (1986), 491-498. Multae proponuntur emendationes ad carmina a L. Kaiser edita (*Early American Latin Verse 1625-1825*, Chicago, 1984). Vide et supra 1.2: Russia; Hispania/Alcina Rovira.

2.2 Poetae

- ALCIATUS ANDREAS: Köhler J., *Der "Emblematum liber" von Andreas Alciatus (1492-1550). Eine Untersuchung zur Entstehung, Formung antiker Quellen und pädagogischen Wirkung im 16. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim, Verlag A. Lax, 1986); — vide et supra: 2.1.: *Emblematica*.
- ALENUS ANDREAS: Vos Greta, *Andreas Alenus (ca. 1520-1578). Kritische gecommentarieerde editie van zijn Sacrae Heroides I, 14-27 met proeve van vertaling en commentaar*. Licentiescriptie (Leuven 1987).
- ALPHONSUS DE GUADELUPA: vide 1.2: Hispania/Alcina.
- (ANCHIETA, JOSEPHUS de, S.J., 1534-1597, et discipuli?): Lestringant Fr., "Les débuts de la poésie néo-latine au Brésil: Le *De rebus gestis Mendi de Saa* (1563)", in *Thill*, pp. 231-245.
- ANDREAS DOMINICUS (Alcañiz, ante 1525 - Zaragoza? post 1594): *Poesías varias del Alcañizano Domingo Andrés. Introducció, edició crítica, traducció, notas e índex a cargo de José María Maestre Maestre*. Prólogo de Juan Gil (Teruel, Instituto de Estudios Turolenses de la Excm. Diputació provincial de Teruel (Plaza Pérez Prado 3, E-44001 Teruel), 1987). Eduntur: *Poecilostichon sive Variorum libri V* (saltem carmina quae supersunt). Editio magni pretii, cui praemissa est commentatio de vita et operibus poetae, item de lingua et imprimis de arte eius metrica. Adiuncta est interpretatio hispanica, item explanatio hominum et rerum, varii denique indices.
- ARIAS MONTANUS BENEDICTUS: vide 1.2: Hispania/Alcina.
- ARKELIUS (van Arckel) CORNELIUS (Amsterdam 3 X 1670 — Rotterdam 29 IX 1724): Hofmann H., "Cornelius van Arckel und sein neulateinischer Freundeskreis im Holland des ausgehenden 17. und beginnenden 18. Jahrhunderts", *HL*, 35 (1986), 169-218.

- BALDE JACOBUS S.J.: "Parthenia Sive Supplicationes ad D. Virginem", *Bzzletin*, num. 144 (m. Martio 1987), 60-64. *Parthenia* iterum edita iuxta versionem Nederlandicam, interprete J.P. Guépin; — IJsewijn J., "Jacob Baldes 'Choreae mortuales'", in *Raabe*, pp. 69-77. Commentatiuncula litteraria; — Laurens P., "Figures du monde, figures de mots dans un poème de Jacob Balde (*De vanitate mundi* XCIX)", in *Thill*, pp. 217-230; — Neuhäusen K.A., "Immer mehr oder immer weniger wollen. Zu einer Sentenz bei Ovid (*fast.* 1, 212) und ihrer Antithese in Baldes Programmgedicht (*lyr.* 1,1, 34)", *Antike und Abendland*, 32 (1986), 125-135; — Schaefer E., "Jacob Baldes Rom", in *Thill*, pp. 255-266; — Thill Andrée, "Balde-Forschung seit 1968", in *Ende Renaissance*, pp. 221-230; — Morvannou F., "Jacobus Balde, *Thomae Mori Constantia* (1660), en français et en breton", *Moreana* XXIV 94 (1987), 75-78; — vide et infra 3.2.
- BAPTISTA MANTUANUS: Echard Gwenda, "The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus: a Mediaeval and Humanist Synthesis", *Latomus*, 45 (1986), 837-847; — Vredevelde H., "Pastoral Inverted: Baptista Mantuanus' Satiric Eclogues and their Influence on the *Bucolicon* and *Bucolicorum Idyllia* of Eobanus Hessus", *Daphnis*, 14 (1985), 461-496.
- BARBERIUS JOSEPHUS NICOLAUS: vide supra: 1.2.: Francia: Sacré.
- BARTHIUS GASPAR: vide 1.5 s.v. Anacreontea.
- BAUDELAIRE FRANCISCUS: Öberg J., "Baudelaire als mittellateinischer Dichter", in *Munari*, pp. 691-698. De carmine "Franciscae meae laudes".
- BISSELIUS JOANNES S.J.: Kühlmann W., "'Parvus eram': Zur literarischen Rekonstruktion frühkindlicher Welterfahrung in den 'Deliciae Veris' des deutschen Jesuiten Johannes Bisselius (1601-1682)", in *Thill*, pp. 207-215.
- BUCHANANUS GEORGIUS: Green R.P.H., "The Text of George Buchanan's Psalm Paraphrases", *The Bibliothek. A Scottish Journal of Bibliography and Allied Topics*, 13 (1986), 3-29. Critice recensentur variae lectiones Psalmorum paraphraseos per singulas quasque editiones.
- BUS JOSEPHUS (Hoogstraten 1893 - Essen/Belgium 1966): Sacré D., "Onuitgegeven Latijnse verzen van Jozef Bus", *Komaan*, 45 (Hoogstraten, 1987), 197-198. Bus erat Vidonis Gezelle, poetae Flandrici, Latinus interpres.
- CABRERA CHRISTOPHORUS: vide 1.2: Hispania/Alcina.
- CALLIMACHUS PHILIPPUS: Pawłowski, "Pierwszy manifest poezji humanistycznej w Polsce" *Analecta Cracoviensia*, 18 (1986), 444-463. Editio et explicatio (Polonice scripta) carminis Sapphici de vita et miraculis Sancti Stanislai.
- CAMERARIUS JOACHIM: *Symbola et Emblemata* (Nürnberg 1590 bis 1604). Mit Einführung und Registern herausgegeben von W. Harms und Ulla-Br. Huechen, Teil 1: *Centuria I* (1590), *Centuria II* (1595), *Centuria III* (1596) (Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1986).
- CARMELIANUS PETRUS: Carlson D., "King Arthur and Court Poems for the Birth of Arthur Tudor in 1486", *HL*, 36 (1987), 147-183. Proponuntur etiam Joannis Lillii carmina.
- CARRARA Hubertinus S.J. (Sora 1642 - Roma 6 I 1716): Martini M., *Ubertino Carrara, un Arcade umanista. In Appendice il Canto I del Columbus tradotto da G. Redi e i Carmi epici tradotti e annotati da L. Gulia* (Sora, Centro di

- Studi Sorani "Vincenzo Patriarca", 1987). Peropportune interpretationi etiam versus latini adiuncti sunt.
- CELTIS CONRADUS: Klaniczay T., "Celtis und die Sodalitas litteraria per Germaniam", in *Raabe*, pp. 79-109; — Trillitzsch W., "Augusteische Dichtung im deutschen Renaissancehumanismus. Das dichterische Werk des Erzhumanisten Conrad Celtis", *Klio*, 67 (1985), 295-301; — Wuttke D., "Conradus Celtis Protucius (1459-1508). Ein Lebensbild aus dem Zeitalter der deutschen Renaissance", in *Philologie als Kulturwissenschaft. Festschrift für K. Stackmann* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1987), pp. 270-286; — Vide et infra 4.2.
- CHYTRAEUS NATHAN: vide infra 7.2.
- COCHANOVIVS IOANNES: vide infra 7.2.
- CORDUS EURICIUS: Schmidt P.G., "Euricius Cordus und Erasmus von Rotterdam. Die Threnodie auf Erasmus aus dem Jahre 1519", in *Raabe*, pp. 117-125. Editur elegia, quae periisse credebatur.
- CRASHAW RICCARDUS: Roberts J.R., *Richard Crashaw: An Annotated Bibliography of Criticism, 1632-1980* (Columbia, U. of Missouri Press, 1985).
- CRICIUS ANDREAS: vide supra 1.2: Polonia.
- EBERLE JOSEPHUS (Rottenburg/Neckar 8 IX 1901 - 20 IX 1986): Albert Sigrid, "Prof. h.c. Josef Eberle (Iosephus Apellus)", *Vox Latina*, 22 (1986), 414; — Balzert Monica, "Iosephus Apellus", *ib.*, 415. Ultimus erat poeta Latinus laureatus.
- EOBANUS HESSUS: Vredeveld H., "Traces of Erasmus' Poetry in the Work of Helius Eobanus Hessus", *HL*, 35 (1986), 48-59; — vide et supra: Baptista Mantuanus: Vredeveld; — Id., "A Neo-Latin Satire on Love-Madness: The Third Eclogue of Eobanus Hessus' *Bucolicon* of 1509", in Becker-Cantarino Barbara (ed.), *Satire in der frühen Neuzeit = Daphnis*, 1985/4 (Amsterdam, 1985), 69-115. Editio et explanatio: — Id., "Helius Eobanus Hessus' *Bonae valetudinis conservandae rationes aliquot*: An Inquiry into its Sources", *Janus*, 72 (Amsterdam, 1985), 83-112. Materiam praeberunt medici veteres (Galenus, Celsus, etc.), *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum* et Marsili Ficini *De vita libri III*; — vide et infra 4.2: Erasmus/Bruehl.
- Epigrammata ad ducem Mediolanensem III* (1468): Kitchell K. - Schierling S., "Three Unicorn Poems from Rossi 1006", *Classical Bulletin*, 61 (1985), 69-75. Epigrammata e codice Vaticano eduntur.
- ERASMUS DESIDERIVS: Vredeveld H., "A Verse of Erasmus restored: carm. 99, 11", *Daphnis*, 15 (1986), 123-124. Lege in fine: "... nigrandum (amicum)". — Vide et 4.2.
- FLEMING PAULUS: Fullenwider H., "Paul Flemings Carmen für Johannes Matthias Meyfart", *WBN*, 13 (1986), 74-77. Editio nova carminis quod perditum ferebatur.
- FLETCHER AEGIDIUS: vide supra 1.2: Anglia/Baker-Smith.
- FRACASTORIUS HIERONYMUS: Hofmann H., "La 'Siphilis' di Fracastoro: immaginazione ed erudizione", *RPL* 9 (1986), 175-180.
- GALLUS AEGIDIUS: Quinlan - McGrath Mary, "A Proposal for the Foundation Date of the Villa Farnesina", *Journal Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 39 (1986), 245-250. Usa est carmine Galli *De Viridario Augustini Chigi* (Romae,

- 1511). Versus ab initio libri tertii indicare videntur aedes Farnesianas aedificari coeptas esse die 22° m. Aprilis 1506.
- GANDIGLIO ADOLPHUS: Traina A., *Adolfo Gandiglio, un "grammatico" tra due mondi, con una bibliografia ragionata a cura di Monica Bini* (Bologna, Patròn ed., 1985). Gandiglio philologus et poeta Latinus in opuscula Pascoliana inlustranda maximo opere incubuit.
- GARCILASO DE LA VEGA: Luque Moreno J., "Las poesías latinas de Garcilaso de la Vega: notas sobre métrica y crítica textual", in *Estudios sobre Literatura y arte dedicados al Prof. Em. Orozco Díaz* (Granada, Universidad, 1979), 2, pp. 279-310.
- GOMEZIUS ALVARUS: vide 1.2: Hispania/Alcina.
- GROTIUS HUGO: Rabbie E. - Ahsmann Margreet, "Astraea Lugduno-Batava. A Recently Found Poem by Hugo Grotius on Joost Swanenburch in a Juridical Disputation of 1599", *Lias*, 13 (1986), 107-121. — Vide et 4.2.
- GRUDIUS NICOLAUS: vide infra: Janus Secundus: Symposium.
- HABERSTOCK JOACHIMUS (1533-Landshut 1571): Reinhardt H., "De Ioachimo Haberstock poeta Frisingensi", *Hermes Americanus* 4 (1986), 258-273. Scripsit i.a. *Binas epistolas divi Petri... heroico carmine redditas* (1566), *Epicedion in D. Fernandi Romani imperatoris obitum* (1564), *Hymnum de Christo Iesu salvatore nostro recens nato* (Frisingae 1558), quem iterum edidit R.
- HADDON GUALTHERUS: vide supra 1.8: Schwarz.
- HEINSIUS DANIEL: vide 2.1: Cameron.
- HOLBERG L.: vide 4.2.
- HONDIUS PETRUS: De Smet R., "Two Unpublished Latin Elegies Written by Petrus Hondius on the Death of Marnix van Sint-Aldegonde", *Lias*, 13 (1986), 99-106.
- HUGENIUS (HUYGENS) CONSTANTINUS: Eyffinger A., "Een onderschat collega? Constantijn Huygens 1596-1687", *Hermeneus*, 59 (1987), 169-176. Summatim attingitur poesis eius Latina, subiectis epigrammatis nonnullis ex *Haga Vocali*. — Vide et 7.2.
- HUTTENUS U.: vide 4.2.
- JACOBUS REX SCOTORUM: vide supra 1.2: Anglia: Baker-Smith.
- JANICIUS CLEMENS: vide supra 1.2: Polonia.
- JANUS SECUNDUS: *Symposium Janus Secundus (1511-1536) (Mechelen 20 september 1986). Referaten bezorgd door Drs. M. de Schepper en Dr. R. de Smedt. Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen*, boekdeel 90,2 (Mechelen 1987). Continet praelectiones VI: J. IJsewijn, "Janus Secundus in de Neolatiijnse literatuur (pp. 3-6); C.M.G. ten Raa, "De familie Everaerts en Mechelen" (pp. 7-16); A.M.M. Dekker, "Leven en werken van Janus Secundus" (pp. 17-24); C. Heesakkers, "Secundusverering in Nederland" (pp. 25-38); J.P. Guépin, "De onuitgegeven gedichten van Grudius die betrekking hebben op het débâcle van de inpoldering van de Zijpe" (pp. 39-60); L. Smolderen, "Jean Second médailleur" (pp. 61-86); — Dekker A.M.M., *Janus Secundus (1511-1536): De tekstoverlevering van het tijdens zijn leven gepubliceerde*

- werk*, Bibliotheca Humanistica et Reformatorica, 38 (Nieuwkoop, De Graaf, 1986) Commentatio bio-bibliographica et exegetica fundamentalis; — Martyn J.R.C., "Joannes Secundus: *Orpheus and Eurydice*", *HL*, 35 (1986), 60-75. Editio, versio Anglica, enarratio: — vide et infra: Servan de Sugny.
- JOHANNES DE VIRGILIO (fl. saec. XIV in.): Cecchini E., "Giovanni del Virgilio - Ser Nuccio 'Diaffonus'", in *Munari*, pp. 570-597. Editio critica.
- LANDIVAR RAPHAEL S.J. (1731-1793): Omacini Eleana, "Segundo centenario de la 'Rusticatio Mexicana' de Rafael Landívar", *Revista de la Universidad de Morón* 10 (1984), 89-96.
- LATINIUS LATINUS (Viterbo 1513-1596): Sacré D., "Unveröffentlichte Epigramme Latino Latinis auf Aonio Paleario", *WRM*, 11 (1987), 66-68.
- LATINUS JOHANNES (1518-): González Vázquez J., "Juan Latino, imitador de Virgilio", *Estudios de Filología Latina*, 3 (Granada, 1983), 129-138; — Sánchez Marin J.A. - Muñoz Martín Maria N., "La Austriada de Juan Latino y Pinciano: Teoría y creación literaria épicas", *Estudios de filología Latina*, 1, en honor de la Prof. Carmen Villanueva Rico (Granada, 1980), 201-216.
- LELAND JOANNES: Carley J.P., "John Leland in Paris: The Evidence of His Poetry", *Studies in Philology* 83 (1986), 1-50. Carmina xxviii eduntur Parisiis condita tertio saeculi XVI decennio.
- LEMNIUS SIMON (Münstertal/S. Maria 1511 - Chur 1550): Wachinger F., "Lemnius und Melanchthon", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 77 (1986), 141-157. Nova interpretatio rixae excitatae duobus libris epigrammaton (Vitebergae, 1538). Poeta minus est innocuus quam voluit L. Mundt.
- LEÓN, LUDOVICUS de (Belmonte/Cuenca 1527 - Madrigal 23 VIII 1591): Fray Luis de León, *Poesia. Edición de Juan Alcina*, Letras Hispánicas, 184 (Madrid, Ediciones Cátedra, 1986). Continet (pp. 211-219) duo carmina pia Latina (*Votum: Ad Dei genitricem Mariam carmen ex voto*). Editoris introductio item de poetis neolatinis et bilinguibus maxima peritia agit.
- LILIUS: vide supra: Carmelianus; vide et 1.5: Tournoy.
- LONGOBARDO NICOLAUS S.J. (1565-1654): Longobardo Nicolò S.J., "Carmen hexametrum in honorem B.M.V.", in: *Scienziati siciliani gesuiti in Cina nel secolo XVII* (Roma, Istituto Italo-Cinese, 1985), pp. 252-257.
- LOTICHIVS PETRUS: Henneberg B., *Die Hirtengedichte von Petrus Lotichius Secundus (1528-1560). Text, Übersetzung, Interpretation* (Diss. Freiburg im Breisgau 1985).
- LUPATIS, LUPATUS de (Lovato Lovati, 1241-1309): Ludwig W., "Lovatos Vers-epistel über die Dichtkunst. Edition und Interpretation", *HL*, 36 (1987), 1-43; — Id., "Kannte Lovato Catull?", *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, N.F., 129 (1986), 329-357. Non novisse videtur.
- MARTYR, PETRUS Anglerius: Della Corte Fr., "Un poeta alla corte d'Isabella", *Columbeis* 2 (Univ. Genova 1987), pp. 231-241. — vide et infra 4.2.
- MASURIUS LUDOVICUS: Millet O., "Conversion religieuse et imitation virgilienne: les deux *Eclogae* de Louis des Masures", *Nouvelle revue du XVI^e siècle*, 4 (1986), 67-85.

- MAXIMUS PACIFICUS: vide observationes de elegiis romanis Pacifici Maximi in censura editionis Juliettae Desjardins (*Les Cent Élégies*, Gratianopoli 1986), quam conscripsit J. IJsewijn, *Roma nel Rinascimento 1986*, pp. 113-116.
- MODIUS FRANCISCUS (1556-1597): Martinek J., "De laudibus Thermarum Caroli a Francisco Modio celebratis", *Listy Filologické*, 109 (1986), 156-164. De *Hodoeporico Francico seu Thermis Carolinis* (Wirceburgi, 1583).
- MUSSATUS ALBERTINUS: Traina A., "Ad Collegium artistarum epistola, 100", *Vichiana*, N.S., 14 (Napoli, 1985), 167-169. Emendatio textualis. Legas: "constringetque monens anxia corda timor".
- NAUGERIUS ANDREAS: Sacré D., "Andrea Navagero, *Lusus*: Three Textual Notes", *HL*, 36 (1987), 296-298.
- PACIFICUS MAXIMUS: vide: MAXIMUS.
- PALINGENIUS STELLATUS MARCELLUS: Bacchelli Fr., "Note per un inquadramento biografico di Marcello Palingenio Stellato", *RIN*, 2a s., 25 (1985), 275-292. Stellatus non erat "Pier Angelo Manzoli di Stellata presso Ferrara", ut voluit J. Facciolatus, sed Neapolitanus (vel certe Campanus) nomine "Stellato" aut "Stellati", qui Romae plerumque vixit; — Moreschini Cl., "Satira e teologia nello *Zodiacus vitae* di Marcello Palingenio Stellato", *RPL* 9 (1986), 203-217.
- PANNONIUS JANUS: Tucker G.H., "Le portrait de Rome chez Pannonius et Vitalis: une mise au point", *BHR*, 48 (1986), 751-756. Auctor credit Pannonii imitationem deprehendisse apud Vitalem.
- PARRHASIUS AULUS JANUS(?) (Cosenza 28 XII 1470 - I 1522?): Klein Th., *Parrasios Epikiedion auf Ippolita Sforza: ein Beispiel schöpferischer Aneignung ins besondere der Silven des Statius. Mit Editio critica, Übertragung, Kommentar, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, N.F., 1:3 (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1987). Manet dubium de auctore epicedii, num revera Parrhasius sit. Utilissima commentatio de lingua et metro.
- PASCOLI JOANNES: De Meo C., "A proposito di due studi recenti su 'Thallusa' di Giovanni Pascoli", *Orpheus*, N.S., 6 (1985), 471-476; — vide et supra: Gandiglio.
- PEROTTI NICOLAUS: Charlet J.L., "Les épitaphes latines de N. Perotti contenues dans l'*Epitome*", *RPL* 9 (1986), 69-87. — vide et 4.2.
- PETRUZZIELLO MICHAELANGELUS (Montefiascone 1902-1961): Sacré T., "De Michaelangelo PetruzzIELLO optimo Latinitatis scriptore", *Melissa*, num. 14 (Bruxellis, m. Sept. 1986), 10-11.
- PHILELPHUS FRANCISCUS: *Francesco Filelfo nel quinto centenario della morte. Atti del XVII Convegno di studi Maceratesi (Tolentino, 27-30 settembre 1981)*, Medioevo e Umanesimo, 58 (Padova, Antenore, 1986). Commentationes XVIII de vita, operibus et fama Francisci Philelphi. Editur a Lucia Gualdo Rosa "Oratio de laudibus historiae, poeticae, philosophiae et quae hasce complectitur eloquentiae pro legendi initio Florentiae habita" (1429), et denuo Veronae, multis mutatis, a filio Joa. Maria (1467) [ad eam orationem vide et D'Episcopo Fr., "Note alla recente edizione di un'orazione di Fr. Filelfo", *RPL* 9 (1986), 109-116]. Item editur a J. IJsewijn *Praelectio in*

- Convivia Philelphi* a J.L. Vive habita Parisiis (ut nunc constat) anno 1514, non 1520 ut antea credebatur et in his Actis etiam scripsi; — Robin Diana, "Humanist Politics or Vergilian Poetics? (Filelfo's Odes 2.2 and 3.4)", *RIN*, 2a s., 25 (1985), 101-125.
- PIGATUS JOHANNES BAPTISTA (Masonio/Vicenza, 20 VII 1910 - Como 3 V 1976): P. Giovanni Battista Pigato, *Pax in Bello: diario di un cappellano militare (Fronte russo: 1942-1943)*, ed. M. Tentorio (Como, s.a.). Subiunguntur Pigati scripta edita et ineditum carmen "In Caroli Gnocchi sacerdotis misericordis honorem" (pp. 104-111); — Sacré T., "Ad memoriam inclutissimam Ioannis Baptistae Pigati poetae Latini", *Latinitas*, 35 (1987), 35-45; — Id., "Ioannis Baptistae Pigati carmen ineditum", *Hermes Americanus*, 4 (1986), 173-178: *De navigio divino*; — Tentorio M. - Gueglio Eugenia, *G.B. Pigato nel decennale della morte* (Genova, 1986). Pigatum poetam tractavit Tentorio.
- PITHOPOEUS LAMBERTUS (Deventer 1539 - Heidelberg 1596): Kühlmann W., "Reinike Vos de Olde in der späthumanistischen Adelserziehung. Ein protreptischer Verstraktat (1580) des Heidelberger Rhetorikprofessors Lambertus Pithopoeus (1535-1596)", *Daphnis*, 15 (1986), 53-72. Editur carmen protrepticum (corriganter mendula: v. 93 turpes, non turpus; v. 273 venenata, non venetata; v. 323 praeterita, non praterita). Patrium poetae nomen fuisse Fassbinder (p. 56) vix credo. Putandum est potius nomen fuisse nederlandicum, fortasse Kuiper, Decuyper vel his simile. (J.IJ.).
- POLITIANUS ANGELUS: Bettinzoli A., "Rassegna di Studi sul Poliziano (1972-1986)", *Lettere Italiane* 39 (1987), 53-125; — Ange Politien. *Les Silves*. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par P. Galand. Les Classiques de l'Humanisme (Paris, Belles Lettres, 1987); — Galand P., "Les 'fleurs' de l'ecphrasis: autour du rapt de Proserpine (Ovide, Claudien, Politien)", *Latomus* 46 (1987), 87-122. Agitur de Rustico Silva. — vide et 4.2.
- POMPILIUS PAULUS: vide supra 2.1: Briesemeister.
- PONSEVIUS DOMINICUS: Sacré D., "De Dominico Poncevio scriptore Florentino", *HL*, 36 (1987), 252-295. Editio operum.
- PONTANUS JOANNES JOVIANUS: Trinkaus Ch., "The astrological cosmos and rhetorical culture of Giovanni Pontano", *RQ*, 38 (1985), 446-472.
- PONTUS TYARDEUS: Bokdam S., "La poésie astronomique de Pontus de Tyard", *BHR*, 48 (1986), 653-670.
- PYRRHUS DIDACUS (Evora 1517 - Dubrovnik 1597): Diogo Pires, *Antologia Poética. Introdução, tradução, comentário e notas de Carlos Ascenso André*, Textos Humanísticos Portugueses, 1 (Coimbra, Centro de Estudos Clássicos e Humanísticos, 1983).
- ROSCIUS JULIUS HORTINUS (Orte, 15—; fl. Romae, s. XVI ex.): Papponetti G., "Julii Roscii Hortini *Lusus Pastorales*", *HL*, 35 (1986), 76-124. Eduntur *Lusus Pastorales ad Pompeium Ugonium Romanum*, i.e. Lusuum pars prima. Adiectus est index ceterorum Lusuum (II: ad Fulvium Ursinum; III: Ad Aurelium Ursium; IV: ad Georgium Radivilum Cardinalem; epigrammatum liber ad Hieron. Maphaeum; ep. liber ad Audoenum Ludovicum; Epigrammata ad Fabricium Carafam; Tumuli ad Alphonsum Cecchonium; Tyburtinae ad M. Ant. Muretum jr.).

- SARBIEVIUS CASIMIRUS: "E rebus humanis excessus: Ode II, 5", *Bzzletin*, num. 144 (m. Martio 1987), 58-59. Iterum editur ode addita interpretatione Nederlandica, auctore J.P. Guépin. — Vide et 7.2
- SECUNDUS: vide supra: Janus Secundus.
- SERVAN de SUGNY PETRUS FRANCISCUS JULIUS (Lyon, 24 XI 1796 - prope Aureliam 12 X 1831): Sacré T., "De colloquio Secundiano exeunte mense Septembri in urbe Mechlinia facto", *Melissa*, num. 15 (Brussel, m. Nov. 1986), 10-11. In fine exscribitur Servani carmen, quo Secundi odam XI^{am} est secutus.
- SOMMARIVA ANGELUS (fl. Genuae ca. 1850/1905): Senis Gabriella, "Colombo in un epitalamio dell'800", *Columbeis* 2 (Univ. Genova 1987), pp. 361-363. Angelus latine vertit Torquati Tassi *Gerus. Lib.* XV 30-32. Ad notam de poetae scriptis adde: anno 1905 Amstelodami laudatus in Certamine Hoeufftiano, carmine misso c.t. *Aucupium*.
- SOUTH ROBERTUS: Sacré T., "De Roberti South, poetae Anglici, carmine c.t. *Musica Incantans* (1655)". *Hermes Americanus*, 4 (1986), 223-228.
- SOUTHWELL ROBERTUS S.J. (Horsham St. Faith 1561 - London 1595): Oxley B., "The Relation Between Robert Southwell's Neo-Latin and English Poetry", *Recusant History*, 17 (1985), 201-207; 330-340.
- VALENTIJS CAROLUS S.J. (fl. Bruxellis saec. XIX in.): Sacré Th., "Caroli Valentijns interpretatio inedita", *Tiro* 33 (Bad Dürkheim 1987), 7/8, p. 4. Anno 1835 Latine vertit carmen francogallicum Antonii V. Arnault.
- VITALIS JANUS: vide supra: Pannonius.
- WILLI PIRMINUS O.S.B. (Wangs, S. Gallen 1904 - Engelberg 1966): *Carmina Selecta - Ausgewählte Gedichte, herausgegeben von W. Vogler* (CH-9001 St. Gallen, Stiftsarchiv, Klosterhof 1, 1987). Eduntur carmina XIV, quorum VIII Latine scripta sunt, I Graece, II Raetice, III denique dialecto Germanica terrae Sargantinae. Carmina Latina ex parte hymni sunt liturgici, partim ex tempore scripta amicis et abbatibus. Usus est strophis Sapphicis, distichis elegiacis et rhythmis mediaevalibus.

3. SCAENICA

3.1. Generalia

- Braden G., *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition. Anger's Privilege* (New Haven - London, Yale U.P., 1985).
- Desgraves L., *Répertoire des Programmes des pièces de théâtre jouées dans les Collèges en France (1601-1700)*, Histoire et civilisation du livre, 17 (Genève, Droz, 1986).
- Eyffinger A., "De politieke component van het humanisten-drama", *De zeventiende eeuw*, 3 (1987), 25-38.
- Fothergill-Payne L.: vide supra 1.3.
- Griffin N., *Jesuit School Drama. A Checklist of Critical Literature. Supplement N° 1*, Research Bibliographies and Checklists, 12 (London, Grant and Cutler Ltd., 1986). Bibliographia theatri S.J. universalis novissimi decenni

- (1976-1986), quattuor indicibus aucta. Studiosis theatri saec. XVI-XVIII opus pernecessarium, quod non solum totam Europam comprehendit, sed etiam missiones transmarinas in America et Asia. In indice geographico s.v. Belgium (p. 208) haec corrigas: urbs Ruremunda (Roermond) non est in Belgio, quod nunc est, sed in Nederlandia (transferatur igitur ad p. 215); urbs Flandrica Turnhout (Latine Turnholtum) non eadem est atque Tournai (Latine Tornacum, Nederlandice Doornik), quae sita est in Hannonia (Hainaut).
- Haas Renate, "Chaucer's Monk's Tale: An Ingenious Criticism of Early Humanist Conceptions of Tragedy", *HL*, 36 (1987), 44-70
- Michel W., "Das Schultheater der Jesuitenniederlassung zu Hadamar", *Archiv für mittelhochdeutsche Kirchengeschichte* 36 (1984), 77-101.
- Morciniec N., "Homulus und Mercator als Quellen des Kupiec von Nikolaï Rej", *Slavica Gandensia*, 13 (1986), 277-283. Tractantur Ischyrius et Naogeorgus.
- Szarota Elida M., "Jesuitendrama und Bibel", *Vestigia (Bibliae)*, 1 (1979), 37-57.
- Staud Géza, *A Magyarországi Jezsuita Iskola Színjátékai 1561-1773. Fontes Ludorum Scenicorum in Scholis S.J. Hungariae* (Budapest, A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1986), 2 vols. Elenchus omnium fabularum in Collegiis S.J. Hungaricis (praeter Collegium Hungaricum Romanum) data-rum. Opus utilissimum, nisi quod introductio - exceptis summarii Germanico et Francogallico - omnesque notae explicativae Hungarice scriptae sunt. Utinam Hungari in operibus doctis ad Latinitatem redire velint!

3.2. Scriptores Scaenici

- BALDE JACOBUS S.J.: Bauer Barbara, "Apathie des stoischen Weisen oder Ekstase der christlichen Braut? Jesuitische Stoakritik und Jacob Baldes *Jephtias*", *RePuLi*, pp. 453-474; — Leonhardt J., "Philologie in Baldes *Drama Georgicum*", *RePuLi*, pp. 475-484.
- BELLAMY HENRICUS (fl. 1630): *Iphis: Text, Translation, Notes*. Edited and translated by Jay M. Freyman, W.E. Mahaney, W.K. Sherwin (Salzburg, Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik der Universität, 1986). Comoedia scripta Oxonii in Collegio S. Joannis inter 1622 et 1625.
- BERNARDUS SAMUEL (Berkshire 1591 - Farley 1657): vide infra: Foxius.
- BUCHANANUS GEORGIUS: Berkowitz St. B., *A Critical Edition of George Buchanan's "Baptistes" and of the Anonymous "Tyrannicall-Government Anatomized"* (Ph. D. 1986 Harvard U. - Univ. Microfilms International n° NCA 86 - 20437).
- CELTIS CONRADUS: vide supra 2.2: Celtis: Wuttke.
- CORNAZZANUS ANTONIUS (Piacenza 1429 - Ferrara? ca. 1484): Bruni L.R. - Zancani D., "Antonio Cornazzano: le opere a stampa", *La Bibliofilia*, 86 (1984), 1-62. Historicus et comoediographus; — vide et infra 4.2.
- CROCUS CORNELIUS: Kearns Emily, "Pagan Wisdom, Christian Revelation: Two Latin Biblical Plays", *HL*, 36 (1987), 212-238
- FOXIUS JOANNES (Boston, Lincolnshire, 1516 - London 1587): John Foxe, *Titus*

et Gesippus (acted 1544-1545). Prepared with an Introduction by J.H. Smith; Samuel Bernard, Andronicus Comnenus (acted 1617-1618). Prepared with an Introduction by J.L. Klause, Renaissance Latin Drama in England, I 6 (Hildesheim, G. Olms, 1986). Merae sunt imagines photographicae codicum manu scriptorum nonnullis in locis ita evanidorum ut legi non possint.

GNAPHEUS GULIELMUS: Vereecken J., "Un Hollandais en Pologne: Gulielmus Gnapheus (1493-1568)", *Slavica Gandensia*, 13 (1986), 323-334; —Goldschmidt E.P. & Co. Ltd, *Catalogue 167: Rare Books XV to XVIII Centuries* (London 1987), p. 56 n° 73 venalem offert editionem Coloniensem s.a. (ca. 1530) incognitam: *Acolastus. De filio prodigo comoedia Acolasti titulo inscripta, autore Gulielmo Gnapheo Gymnasiarcha Hagiensi. Nunc ab eodem recognita*. Apud Servatium Cruphthanum (= Kruffter).

(*Historia Filerini*): vide supra 1.3: Fothergill.

ISCHYRIUS: vide supra 3.1: Morciniec.

MACROPEDIUS: vide infra 7.3.

MALDONATUS JOHANNES (Bonilla/Cuenca, ca. 1485-1554) in *Instrumento Bibliographica* anni 1986 falso inter scriptores pedestres est collocatus. *Hispaniola* est comoedia (anno 1525 Pincii edita).

NAOGEORGUS: vide supra 3.1: Morciniec.

PISANUS HUGOLINUS PARMENSIS (Parma 1405/10 - ca. 1450): Viti P., "Ugolino Pisani da Parma: note sulla lingua della 'Repetitio magistri Zanini coqui'", in Medioli Masotti P. (ed.), *Parma e l'Umanesimo italiano* (Padova, 1986), pp. 145-171.

PLACENTIUS JOHANNES: Brown Cheri, "The *Susanna* of Johannes Placentius: The First Latin Version of the Bible Drama", *HL*, 36 (1987), 239-251.

SCHONAEUS CORNELIUS: Van de Venne H., "Cornelius Schonaeus 1541-1611. A Bibliography of his Printed Works, IV", *HL*, 35 (1986), 219-283.

VERARDUS CAROLUS: vide supra 2.1: Briesemeister.

ZOVITIUS JACOBUS (Dreischor/Zeeland 1512-): Vosters S.A., "Jacob Zovitius, christen-humanist en rector van de Latijnse School te Breda", *Jaarboek van de Geschiedkundige Kring "De Oranjeboom" te Breda*, 38 (1985), 167-180; —vide et supra: Crocus.

4. PROSA ORATIO

4.1. Generalia

Bernardinello S., "Le orazioni per l'annuale apertura degli studi nell'Università di Padova (dal 1405 al 1796). Saggio bibliografico", *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia patavina di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 95 (1982-1983), pt. III, 321-423.

Erdei Klára, "Die Meditation - mentalitätsgeschichtliche Deutung einer Gattung", in *Ende Renaissance*, pp. 81-117. Additus est elenchus *Meditationum* Latine et vernaculis linguis editarum.

Giombi S., "Un primo percorso fra le forme della 'disputa'", *Schede Umanistiche*, 1 (Univ. di Bologna, Dipart. di italianistica, 1987), 25-33.

- Kahn Victoria, *Rhetoric, Prudence and Skepticism in the Renaissance* (Ithaca-London, Cornell U.P., 1985). Inquiri in Salutatum, J.J. Pontanum et L. Vallam.
- Kaiser L.M., "Three Notes on the Classical Tradition", *Classical Bulletin*, 63 (1987), 15-17. (1) Inscriptiones horologicae; (2) Benjamin Franklin, Mottoes; (3) Nathan Hale (†1813) on Horace *Epistles* 1.2.55-56.
- McManamon J.M., "*Ut crescat laudata virtus*": *Funeral Oratory and the Culture of Italian Humanism* (Ph. D. Un. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1984). Appendix: A Short-Title Finding List of Funeral Orations from the Italian Renaissance, ca. 1374-1534.
- Michel A., "De Gerard Vossius au P. Bernard Lamy: rhétorique et Carthésianisme au XVII^e siècle", in *Ars rhetorica antica e nuova*, Pubblicazioni dell'Ist. di filol. class. e med. dell'univ. di Genova, 83 (Genova, 1983), pp. 117-138.
- Murphy J.J.: vide supra 1.3.
- Olivieri L. (ed.), *Aristotelismo veneto e scienza moderna. Atti del 25° anno accademico del Centro per la storia della tradizione aristotelica nel Veneto* (Padova, Antenore, 1983), 2 vols. Tractantur i.a. Bernardinus Tomitanus (docc. 1539-1563), *Quaestio de certitudine mathematicarum* (II, pp. 607-621), Caesar Cremoninus, *De Paedia* (1596) (II, pp. 637-645), Alexander Benedictus/Benedetti (docc. 1490 sqq.), *Anatomice sive de historia corporis humani* (II, pp. 887-895), etc.
- Prandi St., "La precedenza tra le armi e le lettere nella trattatistica su onore e nobiltà nel Cinquecento: alcune ipotesi", *Schede Umanistiche*, 1 (1987), 15-20.
- Shuger D., "The Christian Grand Style in Renaissance Rhetoric", *Viator*, 16 (1985), 337-365.
- Van der Poel M.G.M., *De declamatio bij de humanisten: bijdrage tot de studie van de functie van de rhetorica in de Renaissance*, Bibliotheca Humanistica et Reformatorica, 39 (Nieuwkoop, De Graaf, 1987). Perscrutatur declamationes quales fuerint quemque ad usum adhibitae sint tum in scholis cum extra scholas, in cunctis Europae terris. Adduntur in appendice tractatuli de declamandi ratione, quos conscripserunt Johannes Petreius Toletanus (1539), Petrus Pithoeus, Nicolaus Faber, Andreas Schottus S.J., Ger. Joh. Vossius.
- Vasoli C., "Retorica, metodo e didattica nella cultura umanistica europea", in *Ars rhetorica antica e nuova*, Public. dell'Ist. di filol. class. e med. dell'Univ. di Genova, 83 (Genova, 1983), pp. 139-159.

4.2. *Scriptores pedestres*

- AGRICOLA RUDOLPHUS FRISIUS: vide infra: Vives/Noreña.
- ALBANZANI DONATUS (Pratovecchio/Cosentino 1328-1411): Monti Carla M., "Testi ignoti di Donato Albanzani", *Studi Petrarcheschi*, N.S., 2 (1985), 231-261. Sermo unus, epistolae quinque.
- ALBERTUS LEO BAPTISTA: Leon Battista Alberti, *Momo o del Principe*. Edizione critica e traduzione a cura di R. Consolo, introduzione di A. Di Grado,

- presentazione di N. Balestrini (Ed. Costa e Nolan, Via Peschiera 21, Genova 1986).
- AMATUS FORNACIUS, *Amator ineptus* (Palladii, 1633). Kritische editie met Nederlandse vertaling, verklarende notities en een studie over de auteur en zijn werk... door Ingrid De Smet. Licentiescriptie (Leuven 1987).
- ANGELIUS [Engelke von Werdenhagen] IOANNES (Helmstedt 1581 - Ratzeburg 1652): vide 1.5: Herding.
- ANGELUS a S. JOSEPHO, O. Carm., Tolosanus (= LABROSSE JOSEPH): *Ange de Saint-Joseph, Souvenirs de la Perse safavide et autres lieux de l'Orient (1664-1678)*, par M. Bastiaensen, Travaux de la Fac. de Philosophie et Lettres, XCIII (Bruxelles, Editions de l'Univ. Libre de Bruxelles, 1986). Vertit excerpta *Gazophylacii linguae Persarum*.
- ANNIUS VITERBIENSIS: Freyburger G. - Tautil J.-Chr., "Un thème particulier dans la littérature et la peinture de la Renaissance: Osiris-Apis, roi d'Italie", in *Thill*, pp. 185-191.
- ARIAS MONTANUS BENEDICTUS: Domenichini D., "Scienza biblica e curiosità filologiche in una lettera inedita di Benito Arias Montano", *HL*, 35 (1986), 125-136. — Vide et sub 2.2.
- AUGUSTINUS OLOMUCENSIS (1467-1513): Nechutová Jana - Rösslerova Magda, "Augustinus Olomucensis, Tractatus de Secta Valdensium", *Studia Minora Facultatis Philosophicae Universitatis Brunensis - Sbornik Prací Filoz. Fak. Brněnské Univ.*, 30 (1985), 113-147. Editio critica cum apparatu fontium.
- BASTWICUS JOHANNES (Writtle/Essex 1596 - London? 1654): Carter J. - Condict Fr., "A Study of Patronage from the Surviving Letter-Book of Dr. John Bastwick (1596-1654)", *HL*, 35 (1986), 137-158.
- BEATUS RHENANUS: Walter R., *Beatus Rhenanus. Citoyen de Sélestat, ami d'Erasmus. Anthologie de sa correspondance* (Strasbourg, Librairie Oberlin, 1986).
- BENEDICTUS ALEXANDER (fl. Patavii 1490): vide 4.1: Olivieri.
- BLONDUS FLAVIUS: Cappelletto Rita, "Per la storia del testo dell'*Italia Illustrata*: interpolazioni e note di lettura nel codice Marc. lat. X 21 (3523)", *Commemoratio*, pp. 13-32.
- BODINUS JOHANNES: Ducos Michèle, "Le 'Tableau du droit universel' de Jean Bodin et la tradition romaine", *Bulletin Association G. Budé*, 1987, 1, 49-61. *Iuris universi distributio*.
- BOCCACIUS JOANNES: Dellapiazza M., "Boccacios 'De casibus virorum illustrium' in Exzerpten einer Cusanus-Handschrift", *WRM* 11 (1987), 49-57.
- BRAHE TYCHO: vide infra: Brunus Jordanus.
- BRUNUS JORDANUS: Pagnoni Sturlese Maria R., "Su Bruno e Tycho Brahe", *RIN*, 2a s., 25 (1985), 309-333; — Ricci S., "Giordano Bruno e il 'Northumberland Circle' (1600-1630)", *ib.*, 335-355; — Giordano Bruno, *De magia - De vinculis in genere*. A cura di A. Biondi (Edizioni Biblioteca dell'Immagine, Corso Vitt. Emanuele 37, Pordenone, 1986). Introductio, editio et interpretatio italiana.
- BRUNUS LEONARDUS: Accame Lanzillotta Maria, *Leonardo Bruni traduttore di Demostene: la "Pro Ctesiphonte"*, Pubblicaz. dell'Ist. di fil. classica e med., 96 (Genova, 1986); — Trovato P., "Dai 'Dialogi ad Petrum Histrum' alle 'Vite di Dante e del Petrarca'", *Studi Petrarqueschi*, N.S., 2 (1985), 264-284.

- CALPHURNIUS JOHANNES: Marcotte D., "La bibliothèque de Jean Calphurnius", *HL*, 36 (1987), 184-211.
- CALVINUS JOHANNES: Braekman E.M., "Les traductions néerlandaises de l'"Institution" de Calvin (16^e-17^e siècles): Essai bibliographique", *De Leiegouw*, 28 (1986), 193-201.
- CAMPER PETRUS (Leiden 1722 - Den Haag 1789): Verkroost C.M., "Petrus Camper als mens en als professor in Amsterdam (1755-1761)", *Amsterdamum*, 74 (1987), 56-61.
- CANIS JOANNES JACOBUS: *De modo in iure studendi libellus - Knižka o studiu Práva*. vybral... M. Kopecký. Přepis latinského textu a překlad Jana Nechutová (Brno, 1986). Nova editio bibliophila libelli Brunae anno 1486 editi ex editione princeps (Patavina? ca. 1476).
- CANIS JOHANNES (1486-1571): Coppens C., "De boeken van de Kortrijkse Sint-Maartenskerk en de bibliotheek van Jan De Hondt (1486-1571)", *De Leiegouw*, 29 (1987), 39-55.
- CASELIUS JOHANNES: Bonfatti E., "Johannes Caselius liest Giovanni della Casas *Galateo* (Bologna, 1565)", in *Raabe*, pp. 357-391. *Galateum mixtim notis Latinis et Italicis illustravit. Commentatio praeter Caselium etiam Nathanem Chytraeum (1543-1598) memorat, qui Galateum Latine vertit (Rostochii, 1578, etc.)*.
- CATANEUS DIACETIUS (CATTANI da DIACCETO) FRANCISCUS: *De Pulchro Libri III. Accedunt opuscula inedita et dispersa necnon testimonia quaedam ad eundem pertinentia*, ed. S. Matton, Nuova Collezione di Testi umanistici inediti o rari, XVII (Pisa, Scuola Norm. Sup., 1986).
- CHYTRAEUS NATHAN: vide supra: CASELIUS, et infra 7.2.
- CLAMENGIUS, NICOLAUS de: vide supra 1.2 Francia: Cecchetti.
- CELTIS CONRADUS: Worstbrock Fr.J., "Die Brieflehre des Konrad Celtis. Textgeschichte und Autorschaft", in *Philologie als Kulturwissenschaft. Festschrift für K. Stackmann* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1987), pp. 242-269; — vide et supra 2.2.
- COLUMBUS CHRISTOPHORUS: Pittaluga St., "Cristoforo Colombo amanuense (e il suo incunabolo del 'Catholicon' di Giovanni Balbi)", *Columbeis* 2 (Univ. Genova 1987), pp. 137-151. *Latinitas columbina melioris notae est quam interdum adseritur*.
- COMENIUS J.A.: Hubka K.P., "Stylometric Test for Authorship of a Supposed Comenianum, *Explicatio causae moventis naturalis*", *HL*, 35 (1986), 159-168.
- CONFESSIO AUGUSTANA: Neuser W.H., *Bibliographie der Confessio Augustana und Apologie, 1530-1580*, Bibliotheca Humanistica et Reformatorica, 37 (Nieuwkoop, De Graaf, 1987). *Conspectus editionum et translationum in linguas Graecam, Anglicam, Francogallicam, Nederlandicam, Polonicam, Slovenicam, Croaticam, Italicam, Bohemicam*.
- CONVERSINUS JOHANNES RAVENNAS (1343-1408): Kohl B.G., "Readers and Owners of an Early Work of Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna: Oxford, New College, ms. D. 155", *Scriptorium*, 40 (1986), 95-100. *Dialogus inter Johannem et literam* (ineunte hieme 1378-1379) fuit inter libros Coluccii Salutati (ab anno 1381?).

- CORNAZZANUS ANTONIUS: Pittaluga St., "Proverbi e facezie di Antonio Cornazano", *RPL*, 9 (1986), 231-239. Discutit opusculum *De proverbiorum origine* scriptum post 1459 et ante ver 1466; — vide et supra 3.2.
- CORVERIUS SIMON et GULIELMUS: van Eeghen I.H., "De 'Officina Corveriana', de eerste internationale uitgever in Amsterdam", *Jaarboek van het genootschap Amstelodamum*, 78 (1986), 54-75. Subiungitur in appendice I^a Simonis Corverii elegia Nederlandice versa (ex "Elegiis II" Listrii, Suollis, ca. 1520).
- CRANEVELDIUS FRANCISCUS: Coun Th., "Aanvullende gegevens over de Nijmeegse familie van Cranevelt", *Limburg*, 65 (1986), 34-39. Notitia genealogica.
- CREMONINUS CAESAR: vide 4.1: Olivieri.
- CROISSANT ALBERTUS S.J.: vide supra 1.4: Bertrand.
- CUNITZ MARIA: Guentherodt Ingrid, "*Urania Propitia* (1650) - in zweyerley Sprachen: ein lateinisch- und deutschsprachiges Compendium der Mathematikerin und Astronomin Maria Cunitz", *RePuLi*, pp. 619-640.
- DE ARCE JOHANNES (†Palencia 2 VI 1564): Maicas Pilar, *Juan de Arce, Humanista español* (Madrid, Fundacion Universitario española, 1986).
- DEE JOHANNES: Luhrmann T.M., "An Interpretation of the *Fama Fraternitatis* with Respect to Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*", *Ambix*, 33 (Cambridge, 1986), 1-10.
- DORPIUS MARTINUS: vide infra: Morus/Kinney.
- DUDITH ANDREAS (Buda 1533 - Breslau 23 II 1589): Szczucki L., "L'epistolario di Andrea Dudith", *RIN*, 2a s., 25 (1985), 297-308.
- ELFITEUS FABRICIUS (fl. Mediolani s. XV): Sica F., "L'ideale umanistico della gloria in Fabrizio Elfito", *Misure critiche*, 16, num. 58-59 (Salerno, 1986), 63-71. Huius auctoris supersunt opuscula manu scripta (quae proxime edentur) haec: *Elegiarum libellus* ad Alphonsum Calabriae ducem; *De comparanda gloria* ad Fredericum ducem Urbinatem.
- ERASMUS DESIDERIUS: Bruehl C.M., "Zwei unbekannte Briefe von Erasmus", *Quaerendo* 16 (1986), 243-258. Litterae ad Joannem Sapidum (=856A) et Eobanum Hessum (=2518A); — *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 7: *The Correspondence of Erasmus. Letters 993 to 1121. 1519 to 1520*. Translated by R.A.B. Mynors, annotated by P.G. Bietenholz (U of Toronto Press, 1987). Additus est in appendice *Dialogus bilinguium ac trilinguium* (versus a P. Pascal). Ad p. 432 (339, 22) nota quod codex Trudonensis Gerardi Moringi nonnullis annis ante translatus est Bruxellis Hassaletum: Hasselt, Rijksarchief, hs. 35; — vol. 27-28: *Literary and Educational Writings*, 5: *Panegyricus - Moria - Julius Exclusus - Institutio Principis Christiani - Querela Pacis*; 6: *Ciceronianus - Notes - Index*, ed. A.H.T. Levi (U of Toronto Press, 1986); — *Schutzschrift (Hyperaspistes) gegen Martin Luthers Buch "Vom unfreien Willen". Erstes Buch*. Aus dem lateinischen übers. von O.J. Mehl ... Hrsg. und mit einem Nachwort von S. Wollgast (Leipzig, Reclam, 1986).
- IJsewijn J., "Castigationes Erasmianae VII", *HL*, 35 (1986), 284-286;
- Id., "Castigationes Erasmianae VIII", *HL*, 36 (1987), 299-302;
- Albu C., "Der Briefwechsel des rumänischen Humanisten Nicolaus Olahus mit Erasmus von Rotterdam", *Cahiers roumains d'études littéraires*,

2 (1986), 70-84; — Best Th.W., "Is Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* Flawed?", *HL*, 35 (1986), 30-47; — Bietenholz P.G. - Deutscher Th. B. (edd.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. 3: N-Z (Toronto U.P., 1987); — Cadapaz de Matos M., *Erasmus. Sua modernidade. Uma evocação de Erasmo de Roterdão e da sua obra nos 450 anos do desaparecimento do humanista (por ocasião do II Simpósio Nacional de Humanismo na Academia das Ciências de Lisboa)* (Braga, 1987; venit: Rua da Imprensa Nacional, 104 - 3°C - 1200 Lisboa); — Chomarot J., "Érasme et Platon", *Bulletin Association G. Budé*, 1987, 1, 25-48; — De Jonge H.J., "Erasmus' Method of Translation in His Version of the New Testament", *The Bible Translator. Technical Papers* 37 (1986), 135-138; — Margolin J.-Cl., "L'art du dialogue et de la mise en scène dans le 'Julius Exclusus'", in *Dialogue*, pp. 213-236; — Id., "Quinze années de travaux érasmiens", *BHR*, 48 (1986), 585-619; — Neuhausen K.A., "Der Brief als 'Spiegel der Seele' bei Erasmus", *WRM*, 10 (1986), 97-110; — Revuelta Sañudo M. - Morón Arroyo C. (edd.), *El Erasmismo en España. Ponencias del Coloquio celebrado en la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo del 10 al 14 de junio de 1985*, Estudios de literatura y pensamiento hispánicos, 5 (Santander, Sociedad Menéndez Pelayo, 1986); — Rummel Erika, *Erasmus as a Translator of the Classics*, Erasmus Studies, 7 (Toronto U.P., 1985); — Id., *Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament. From Philologist to Theologian*, Erasmus Studies, 8 (Toronto U.P., 1986); — Stoffers E., "Erasmus in de twintigste eeuw: een terugblik op de Erasmusbiografieën van deze eeuw in zijn 450^e sterfjaar", *Theoretische Geschiedenis*, 13 (1986), 309-331; — Waszink J.H., "Enige beschouwingen over Erasmus als vertaler van Euripides", in Id., *Verzamelde opstellen* (Leiden, 1983): iterum editur lucubratio in commentariis q.t. *Lampas* anno 1970^e excusa; — vide et supra 1.2: Hispania; 2.2: Cordus; 4.2: Beatus Rhenanus; infra 4.2: Stunica; Vives/Colloquia, González.; 7.4.

— *Erasmiana Lovaniensia. Catalogus van de Erasmus-tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek te Leuven, november-december 1986*, onder de redactie van Chr. Coppens, J. IJsewijn, J. Roegiers en G. Tournoy, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia IV (Leuven U.P. 1986), 315 pp. Continet praeter descriptiones et imagines permultas: (1) J. Roegiers, "Erasmiana te Leuven", pp. 14-18; J. IJsewijn, "Erasmus tussen humanisme en theologie", pp. 19-35; (3) G. Tournoy, "Ephemerides Erasmianae", pp. 37-42. — *Colloque érasmien de Liège*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, fasc. 247 (Paris, Belles Lettres, 1987).

— Margolin J.-Cl., *Erasmus: le prix des mots et de l'homme*, Collected Studies series 241 (London 1986): opuscula 1964-84 collecta; Id., *Erasmus dans son miroir et dans son sillage*, Collected Studies Series 257 (London 1987): opuscula 1965-1981 collecta.

FABER NICOLAUS: vide 4.1: Van der Poel.

FABER STAPULENSIS, JACOBUS: Backus Irena, "John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa*: Translations by Burgundio (1153/54), Grosseteste (1235/40) and Lefèvre d'Étaples (1507)", *Journal Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 49 (1986), 211-217.

- FALLOPPIUS GABRIEL (Modena, 1523-1562): Ferrari G.E., "L'opera idro-termale di Gabriele Falloppio: le sue edizioni e la sua fortuna", *Quaderni per la storia dell'Univ. di Padova*, 18 (1985), 1-41.
- FELICIANUS FELIX (Verona 1433-1479): Spanò Martinelli Serena, "Note intorno a Felice Feliciano", *RIN*, 2a s., 25 (1985), 221-238. Additur elenchus scriptorum et codicum Feliciani.
- FICHETUS GULIELMUS: Beltran E., "Une rédaction inconnue de la *Rhétorique* de Guillaume Fichet", *BHR* 49 (1987), 359-365.
- FICINUS MARSILIUS: Clark J.R., "Roger Bacon and the Composition of Marsilio Ficino's *De vita longa* (*De vita*, Book II)", *Journal Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 49 (1986), 230-233; — Vasoli C., "Le 'De amore' de Marsile Ficin, un 'exemplum' de la civilisation philosophique et littéraire de la Renaissance", in *Dialogue*, pp. 151-168. — Allen M.J.B., *The Platonism of Marsilio Ficino. A Study of His Phaedrus Commentary, Its Sources and Genesis* (Berkeley, U of California Press 1984); — vide infra: Leopardi.
- FRACASTORIUS HIERONYMUS: Peruzzi E., "Note e ricerche sugli 'Homocentrica' di Girolamo Fracastoro", *RIN*, 2a s., 25 (1985), 247-268.
- FRANCUS RAPHAEL FLORENTINUS (fl. Bononiae, ca. 1505; Pisis 1515/1525): Pizzani U., "Dimensione cristiana dell'Umanesimo e messaggio lucreziano: La *Paraphrasis in Lucretium* di Raphael Francus", in *Tarugi* 1986, pp. 313-333.
- GADOLUS BERNARDINUS (Brescia 1463 - Firenze IV 1499): Hunt A.J., "An Unpublished Letter to Politian", *RIN*, 2a s., 25 (1985), 127-138. Orat ut verba quaedam rarissima explanet (scr. Venetiis 1491 ex. - 1492 ex.?).
- GESNERUS CONRADUS: Trimpi W., "Konrad Gesner and Neoplatonic Poetics", in *Festschrift for Robert Earl Kaske* (Cornell University P., 1986), pp. 261-272.
- GROTIUS HUGO: *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius, twaalfde deel: 1641*. Uitgegeven door Drs. Paula P. Witkam, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, grote serie, 197 (Assen-Maastricht, Van Gorcum, 1986). Eduntur et notis historicis instruuntur litterae 4992-5531 magna ex parte Latine scriptae.
- GUARINUS BAPTISTA: Römer F., "Ein 'Freundschaftsbrief' des Battista Guarini an Albrecht von Bonstetten", *HL*, 36 (1987), 139-148.
- Historia de Arono et Marina*: Doglio M.C., "Un'inedita novella latina del XV secolo: l'anonima 'Historia de Arono et Marina'", in *Letteratura e filologia. Studi in onore di C.F. Goffis* (Foggia 1985), pp. 91-105. Haudquaquam est inedita!
- HOLBERG LUDOVICUS: Peters Sigrid, *Das "Iter subterraneum" und seine Beziehungen zur antiken Literatur*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 15 (Klassische Sprachen und Literaturen), 33 (Bern, P. Lang, 1987).
- HUGENIUS CONSTANTINUS: Kuiper G.C., "Huygens' eervolle opdracht: een brief aan Heinsius over Oranjes grafschrift", *Hermeneus*, 59 (1987), 117-180. Adduntur epistolae versiones Latina et Nederlandica; — vide et 2.2.
- HUTTENUS UDALRICUS: Kreutz W., *Die Deutschen und Ulrich von Hutten. Rezeption von Autor und Werk seit dem XVI. Jahrhundert*, Veröffentl. Histor. Instit. der Univ. Mannheim, 8 (München, Fink, 1984); — Ridé J., "'Arminius' (1529), un dialogue posthume d'Ulrich von Hutten", in *Dialogue*, pp. 237-248; — Faure Marie-Noëlle, "La relativisation du mythe de l'empereur dans les œuvres de Ulrich von Hutten", *BHR* 49 (1987), 55-68.

- JOVIVS Paulus: Gallo I., "Piceni e Picentini: Paolo Giovio e la patria di Pomponio Leto", *RPL* 9 (1986), 137-142. Ager Picentinus pars est provinciae Salernitanae, non agri Piceni.
- JUNGIUS JOACHIM: *Praelectiones Physicae. Historisch-kritische Edition*, Veröffentlich. der J. Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wiss., 45 (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1982). Habita Hamburgi ca. 1630.
- LAETUS POMPONIVS: Dyckmans M., S.J., "La *Vita Pomponiana* de Virgile", *HL* 36 (1987); 85-111 — Vide et supra: Iovivus.
- LANDINUS CHRISTOPHORUS: Di Cesare M.A., "Cristoforo Landino on the Name and Nature of Poetry: the Critic as Hero", *The Chaucer Review* 21 (1986), 155-181.
- LEO AMBROSIVS: Sica F., *Ambrogio Leone tra umanesimo e scienze della natura* (Salerno, Edisud, 1983). Scripsit *De nobilitate rerum dialogum* (Venetiis, 1525).
- LEOPARDI JACOBUS: *Porphyrii de vita Plotini et ordine librorum eius*, a cura di Cl. Moreschini (Firenze, Olschki, 1982). Opusculum iuvenile (1814) Jacobi Leopardi, qui retractavit interpretationem Latinam Porphyrii a M. Ficino factam.
- LINACRE THOMAS (Cambridge, c. 1460 - London 1524): Jensen Kr., "De emendata structura Latini sermonis: The Latin Grammar of Thomas Linacre", *Journal Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 49 (1986), 106-125.
- LIPSIUS JUSTUS: Isnardi Parente Margherita, "La storia della filosofia antica nella *Manuductio ad Stoicam Philosophiam* di Giusto Lipsio", *Ann. Scuola Norm. Sup. Pisa, Cl. Lett. e filosofia*, s. III, 16 (1986), 45-64; — Klaniczay T., "Die politische Philosophie des Manierismus: Paruta und Lipsius", in *Ende Renaissance*, pp. 23-35. Tractantur imprimis Pauli Parutae Veneti (1540-1598) *Discorsi politici*, Lipsii *De Constantia et Politica*.
- LUBIENSKI STANISLAUS (Polonia, s. XVIII); vide infra: Sarbievius.
- LUDER PETRUS (° Kislau c. 1415/1416): Barner W., "'Studia toto amplectenda pectore'. Zu Peter Luders Programmrede vom Jahre 1456", in *Raabe*, pp. 227-251. Tractat orationem Heidelbergae anno 1456 habitam.
- MARINEVS LUCIVS: Verrua P., *Lucio Marineo Siculo, 1444-1533(?)* (San Gabriele/Teramo, Eco, 1984).
- MARTYR Anglerius, PETRUS: Lunardi E., "Dal latino di Pietro Martire alcune precisazioni sulle vicende columbiane", *Columbeis* 2 (Univ. Genova 1987), pp. 234-259; — Magioncalda Elisa, "Notizie sulla 'cucina indigena' al tempo della scoperta (Pietro Martire *Dec.* I 1-7; III 4)", *id.*, pp. 261-266; — Mazzacane Rosanna, "*Mare clausum*: Pietro Martire d'Anghiera e l'accento alla partizione dell'Oceano", *id.*, pp., 267-275. — vide et supra 2.2.
- MARVLVS MARCVS: Košuta L., "Fortune et infortunes d'un livre de Marko Marulić: Le *De institutione bene vivendi per exempla sanctorum* (Venise, 1507)", in *Les Croates et la civilisation du livre. Actes du 1^{er} Symposium international d'études sur l'aire culturelle croate (Paris, 3 déc. 1983)*, Univ. de Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV), Centre de recherches en littérature comparée, Equipe de recherches sur la culture croate et les échanges intellectuels internationaux (Paris, P.U.P.-Sorbonne, 1986), pp. 55-66.

- MEINHARDI ANDREAS (Pirna? ca. 1485 - Wittenberg 1525/26): *Über die Lage, die Schönheit und den Ruhm der hochberühmten und herrlichen Stadt Albioris, gemeinhin Wittenberg genannt. Ein Dialog, herausgegeben für diejenigen, die ihre Lehrzeit in den edlen Wissenschaften beginnen.* Aus dem lateinischen. Übersetzung, Einleitung und Anmerkungen von M. Treu (Leipzig, Reclam, 1986). Interpretatio Germanica dialogi anno MDVIII primum editi.
- MELANCHTHON PHILIPPUS: Keen R., "Melanchthon at Work: Fragment of a Speech", *WRM* 11 (1987), 60-65; — Koehn H., *Philipp Melanchthons Reden. Verzeichnis der im XVI. Jht. erschienenen Drucke*, Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, Beihefte, 25 (Frankfurt/Mn. Buchhändler-Vereinigung, 1986); — Wengert T., *Philipp Melanchthon's "Annotationes in Johannem"*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance (Genève, Droz, 1987) — *Melanchthons Briefwechsel. Band 5: Regesten 4530-5707 (1547-1549)* bearbeitet von H. Scheible unter Mitwirkung von W. Thüringer (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Frommann-Holzboog, 1987); — vide et supra 2.2 Lemnius.
- MENCKEN JOANNES BURCHARDUS: Forster L., "'Charlataneria eruditorum': zwischen Barock und Aufklärung in Deutschland. Mit dem Versuch einer Bibliographie", *RePuLi*, pp. 203-220.
- MIRABILIS LIBER (Parisiis, 25 V 1522): Britnell Jennifer - Stubbs D., "The *Mirabilis Liber*: its Compilation and Influence", *Journal Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 49 (1986), 126-149. Est liber "qui Prophetias Revelationesque nec non res mirandas, preteritas, presentes et futuras aperte demonstrat" ad Franciscum I Gallorum regem.
- MORUS THOMAS: Baumann U - Heinrich H.P., *Thomas Morus. Humanistische Schriften. Mit einer Einführung von H. Schulte Herbrüggen*, Erträge der Forschung, 243 (Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986). Optima introductio ad Morum et haec eius opera: Pici vitam, Lucianum Latine versum, Historiam Richardi IIIⁱ, Utopiam. Apparatus bibliographicus copiosissimus; — Kinney D. (ed.), *In Defence of Humanism: Letters to Dorp, the University of Oxford, E. Lee, and a Monk, with a New Latin Text of The History of Richard III* (Yale Univ. Press, 1986); — Marc'Hadour G., "Thomas More: de la conversation au dialogue", in *Dialogue*, pp. 35-58; — Schulte Herbrüggen H., Unterweg Fr.-K., Baumann U., Heinrich H.P., *Thomas Morus 1477/78 - 1535. Humanist-Staatsmann-Märtyrer. Leben und Werk. Beiträge der Forschung*, Ausstellung in der Universitätsbibliothek Düsseldorf 25. Okt. 1985 bis 4. Jan. 1986; — *Thomas Morus: Humanist - Staatsmann - Märtyrer. Katalog (der) Ausstellung des Moreanum Anglistisches Institut der Univ. Düsseldorf in der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg (Pellerhaus)* 8. Mai - 19. Juni 1987. (Bearbeiter) H. Schulte Herbrüggen, Fr.-K. Unterweg unter Mitarbeit von U. Baumann und H.P. Heinrich, *Pirckheimer Jahrbuch*, 3 (München, Fink, 1987); — Newman J.K., "De Thoma Moro comico", *Hermes Americanus* 4 (1986), 189-193. — *Moreana* XXIV (Angers, 1987).
- MURATORI LUDOVICUS ANTONIUS (1672-1750): Górecki D., "An Unedited Letter of Lodovico Antonio Muratori to Eustachius a Sancto Ubaldo", *Manu-*

- scripta*, 30 (1986), 209-212. Datum Mediolani 18 Aug. (non mense Sept., ut editrix scribit!) 1699.
- NEBRISSENSIS ANTONIUS: Elio Antonio de Nebrija - Gabriel Busa O.S.A., *Diccionario Latino-Catalan y Catalano-Latino* (Barcelona, Carles Amorós, 1507). Estudio preliminar por G. Colón y A.-J. Soberanas (Barcelona, Puvill libros, 1986). Busa opera lexicographica Nebrissensis (Helmanticae 1492-1495) Catalanice retractavit.
- NIAVIS PAULUS: Bredekamp H., "Der Mensch als Mörder der Natur. Das 'Iudicium Iovis' von Paulus Niavis und die Leibmetaphorik", *Vestigia Bibliae*, 6 (1984), 261-283.
- NIOLA FRANCISCUS (Abella 11 II 1843 - Gaeta 14 VIII 1920): Parisella I., "Ex Alexandri Manzoni fabula quae *I Promessi Sposi* inscribitur narrationes quaedam a Francisco Niola depromptae atque in Latinum conversae", *Latinitas*, 34 (1986), 276-290. Excerpta ex libro c.t. *Saggi di Versioni Latine dall'uso moderno su' Promessi Sposi* (Caietae, 1904).
- OCIESKI JOHANNES POLONUS: Bilinski Br., "Passeggiate Romane dell'ambasciatore polacco Jan Ocieski (1540-1541)", *Studi Romani*, 34 (1986), 61-81.
- OLAHUS NICOLAUS (Sibiu 10 I 1493 - Trnava 17 I 1568): Albu C., "Nicolaus Olahus, a Humanist of European Prestige", *Romanian Review*, 40 (Bucarest, 1986), fasc. 7, 56-74. Adumbrat vitam et opera, imprimis laudat *Hungariam* eiusque partes quae Romaniam spectant; — vide et supra 2.2: Erasmus: Albu.
- OPITZ MARTINUS: Bircher M., "Autographen Barocker Autoren", in *Raabe*, pp. 291-356. Epistulae duae eduntur (pp. 310-313) Vratislavia datae anno 1631, prior Carolo Hannibali a Dohna, altera Nicolao Rittershusio. Item imago photographica datur epistulae Andreae Tscherning anno 1644 Rostochii scriptae ad Matthaeum Apellen a Löwenstern (p. 355). Exemplaria originalia Cracoviae adservantur in Jagellonica. Corrigenda: in epist. I^a 1.9 lege "mussitant"; 1. 20 lege "Cels(itudinem)"; epist. II^a ll. 2-3 sic legas et distinguas: "amico singulari, Norimbergam, S.P.D.". Post hanc salutatio- nem ipsa incipit epistola.
- PAPEBROCHIUS DANIEL S.J.: Kindermann U., "Zwei Tage in Padua. Eine lateinische Beschreibung der Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt durch den Jesuiten Daniel Papebroch", in *Munari*, pp. 633-690. Editio, versio Germanica et notae ad artis historiam spectantes.
- PEROTTUS NICOLAUS: Bertini F., "Ancora su Nonio e Perotti", *Commemoratio*, pp. 7-12; — Boldrini S., "La patria del Perotti", *RPL* 9 (1986), 9-18; — Della Corte Fr., "Nicolò Perotti e gli epigrammi di Marziale", *ib.*, 97-107; — Keith Percival W., "Early Editions of Niccolò Perotti's *Rudimenta Grammatices*, *ib.*, 219-229; — vide supra 2.2: Perottus, et infra 4.2: Valla/Marx.
- PETRARCA FRANCISCUS: Basile B., "Un frammento di Prisciano in Petrarca (Familiares, XIII 10 1)", *Filologia e critica*, 11 (1986); — Casamassima E., *L'autografo Riccardiano della seconda lettera del Petrarca a Urbano V (Senile IX 1)*, = *Quaderni Petrarqueschi*, 3 (Roma, 1985-1986, Valerio Levi editore). Editur et omni ex parte illustratur *ep. Sen. IX 1* (Venetiis, vere

- 1368), cuius exemplar ipsius auctoris manu scriptum (Florent., Ricc. 972, 1'-16') anno 1971 repertum est ab E. Casamassima; — Kahn V., "The Figure of the Reader in Petrarch's *Secretum*", *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, 100 (1985), 154-166; — Waszink J.H., "Het humanisme van Petrarca", in Id., *Verzamelde opstellen* (Leiden, 1983): denuo editur commentatio anno 1974 in commentariis q.t. *Hermeneus* divulgata; — *Studi Petrarqueschi*, N.S. II (1985).
- PETREIUS (Perez) JOHANNES TOLETANUS: vide 4.1: Van der Poel.
- PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA: *De prospectiva pingendi*, a cura di G. Nicco Fasola (Firenze, Le lettere, 1984).
- PIRCKHEIMER BILLIBALDUS (1470-1530): Wuttke D., "Habent sua fata libelli. Die Edition von Band III des Pirckheimer-Briefwechsels", *Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch*, 2 (München, Fink, 1986), 109-116. Tomus tertius hieme 1987-88 prodibit Monachii Bavarorum apud C.H. Beck.
- PITHOEUS PETRUS: vide 4.1: Van der Poel.
- PIUS JOANNES BAPTISTA (fl. Bononiae, s. XVI in.): Del Nero V., "Filosofia e teologia nel Commento di Giovan Battista Pio a Lucrezio", *RIN*, 2a s., 26 (1986), 277-295.
- POGGIUS BRACCIOLINUS: Kajanto I., "Fortuna in the Works of Poggio Bracciolini", *Arctos. Acta Philologica Fennica*, 20 (1986), 25-57; — Id., *Poggio Bracciolini and Classicism. A Study in Early Italian Humanism*, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, S. B, 238 (Helsinki, Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1987). Poggius antiquos non nobiliores et meliores habuit quam homines suae aetatis, praeterquam quod Latine elegantius scriberent. Agitur etiam de controversia Poggium inter et Salutatum; imprimis disputatur de opere *De Varietate Fortunae*; — Kajanto I. - Merisalo O., "The 1723 Edition of Poggio Bracciolini's *De Varietate Fortunae*", *HL*, 36 (1987), 71-84; — Prete S., "Personaggi secondari nella polemica tra Poggio Bracciolini e Lorenzo Valla", in *Tarugi 1986*, pp. 335-348: Guarinus Veronensis et Nicolaus Perottus; — Visconti G.M., "La *Historia disceptiva tripartita convivalis* di Poggio Bracciolini", *Misure Critiche*, XVI, num. 58-59 (Salerno, 1986), 5-61. Editio critica secundae convivalis disceptationis "utra artium, medicinae an iuris civilis, praestet", adiecta interpretatione Italiana; — Pittaluga St., "Poggio fra Cicerone ed 'exempla'", *RPL* 10 (1987), 267-273. Librum tractat *Facetiarum*.
- POINSOT JOANNES = JOANNES A S. THOMA (Lisboa 11 VII 1589 - Fraga/Aragon 17 VI 1644): John Poinot, *Tractatus de Signis: The Semiotic of John Poinot*. Ed. by J.N. Deely with R.A. Powell (Berkeley, U of California Press, 1985).
- POLITIANUS ANGELUS: Angelo Poliziano, *Lamia. Praelectio in Priora Aristotelis Analytica. Critical Edition, Introduction and Commentary* by A. Wesseling, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought (Leiden, Brill, 1986). Opus omni laude dignum, quod honori est editori et typographo. Critice editur et copiose elucidatur praelectio, qua Politianus anno 1492 Aristotelis *Analytica* interpretari incepit et sibi ius vindicavit tractandi opera philosophica, etiamsi esset philologus; — Bettinzoli A., "Rassegna di studi sul Poli-

- ziano (1972-1986)", *Lettere italiane*, 39 (1987), 53-125; — Cesarini Martinielli Lucia, "Uno sconosciuto incunabolo di Terenzio postillato dal Poliziano", *RIN*, 2a s., 25 (1985), 239-246; — *Tarugi 1986*: passim. Ad opera Latina pertinent: (1) Michel A., "La parole et la beauté chez Ange Politien", pp. 197-207; (2) Jocelyn H.D., "Gli studi del Poliziano sulla poesia latina arcaica", pp. 133-139; (3) Pizzani U., "Angelo Poliziano e il testo di Lucrezio", pp. 297-311; — Galand Perrine, "L' 'enargia' chez Politien", *BHR* 49 (1987), 25-53; — vide et supra: Gadolus.
- PONSEVIUS DOMINICUS: vide supra: 2.2.
- POSTEL GUILIELMUS: Postel Guillaume, *De Etruriae regionis originibus, institutis, religione et moribus*. Ediz. e traduz. a cura di G. Cipriani, Contributi alla storia degli studi etruschi e italici (Roma, Consiglio Naz. delle Ricerche, 1986).
- PUTEANUS ERYCIUS: Welkenhuysen A., "Erycius Puteanus, Heer van Keizersberg, over het beleg en ontzet van Leuven in 1645. Voorstelling, vertaling en aantekeningen", *Loven Boven*, 16 (Leuven, Abdij Keizersberg, 1986), num. 1, 16-41; num. 3, 19-41. Neerlandice vertuntur atque illustrantur partes *Historiae Belgicae libri singularis de obsidione Lovaniensi anni M.DC.XXXV* (Antverpia, 1636).
- RABELAESIUS FRANCISCUS: Löfstedt B., "Notices sur le latin de Rabelais", in *Actes du 9^e Congrès des romanistes scandinaves, Helsinki 13-17 août 1984*, ed. E. Suomela-Härmä, Mémoires Soc. Néophilol. Helsinki, 44 (Helsinki, 1986), pp. 217-220; — Bevilacqua Caldari Franca, "François Rabelais a Roma", *Studi Romani* 34 (1986), 40-60.
- RAMUS PETRUS: Bruyère Nelly, *Méthode et dialectique dans l'œuvre de la Ramée* (Paris, Vrin, 1984). De editionibus horum operum: *Dialectica, Praelectiones, Animadversiones, Quod sit*; — Van Berkel K., "Ramus, précurseur de Descartes aux Pays-Bas", *Septentrion*, 16, 2 (1987), 30-36; — vide et supra 1.2: Clérico.
- RICHARD PETRUS (Coutances 1460-Troyes 1525): Veissière M., "Une dédicace de Pierre Richard à Guillaume Briçonnet (1519)", *BHR* 49 (1987), 121-128.
- SAPIDUS IOHANNES: vide supra: Erasmus/Bruehl.
- SARBIEVIUS MATHIAS CASIMIRUS S.J.: *Korespondencja Macieja Kazimierza Sarbiewskiego ze Stanisławem Lubińskim. Przełożył i opracował Jerzy Star-nawski*, Silva Medii et Recentioris Aevi, 11 (Warszawa, Instytut wydawniczy PAX, 1986). Editur et Polonice vertitur epistolarum commercium Sarbievi et Stanisłai Lubiński, episcopi Plocensis, 1630-1639. In prima epistola, v. 13 legas "inserir", non "inferis".
- SCALIGER JOSEPHUS JUSTUS: Salanitro G., "Ennio nella critica testuale di Giuseppe Scaligero", in Caquot A., Hadas-Lebel M. et Riaud J., *Hellenica et Judaica. Hommage à V. Nikiprowetzky* (Leuven - Paris, Ed. Peeters, 1986), pp. 485-489.
- SCALIGER JULIUS CAESAR (Riva del Garda 23 IV 1484 - Agen 21 X 1558): *Acta Scaligerana. Actes du Colloque international... Jules-César Scaliger (Agen... 1984)*, réunis par J. Cubelier de Beynac et M. Magnien. Préface de J. IJsewijn; Avant-propos de J. François-Poncet; Postface d'A. Michel (Agen, Société Académique, 1986). *Studia XVIII de vita et diversis Scaligeri*

- operibus; addita est bibliographia Scaligeriana absolutissima auctore M. Magnien. Liber est quasi novum studiorum Scaligerianorum fundamentum; — Jensen K., "The Concept of Signification in J.C. Scaliger", *Histoire Epistémologie Langage*, 8 (1986), 35-52. Agitur *De causis linguae Latinae* (Lugduni, 1540); — Reineke Ilse, *Julius Cäsar Scaligers Kritik der neulateinischen Dichter*, Humanistische Bibliothek (München, Fink, 1987); — Cairns Fr., "The *Poetices Libri Septem* of Julius Caesar Scaliger: An Unexplored Source", *RPL* 9 (1986), 49-58.
- SCHOEFFERLIN BERNARDUS (ca. 1436-1501): Ludwig W., *Römische Historia im deutschen Humanismus: Über einen verkannten Mainzer Druck von 1505 und den angeblich ersten deutschen Geschichtsprofessor — vorgelegt in der Sitzung vom 30. Januar 1987*, Berichte aus den Sitzungen der Joachim Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 5, 1 (Hamburg, 1987).
- SCHOTTUS ANDREAS S.J.: vide 4.1: Van der Poel.
- SCHUERMANN ANNA MARIA: Becker-Cantarino Barbara, "Die 'gelehrte Frau' und die Institutionen und Organisationsformen der Gelehrsamkeit am Beispiel der Anna Maria van Schurman (1607-1678)", *RePuLi*, pp. 559-576.
- SEPULVEDA JOHANNES GENESIUS (Pozoblanco 1490-1573): Luque Moreno J., "¿Clausulas ritmicas en la prosa de Gines de Sepúlveda?", *Habis*, 14 (Sevilla, 1983), 85-105; — Rodríguez Peregrina Elena, "Un historiador renascentista: J.G. de Sepúlveda", *Estudios de filología latina*, 2 (Granada, 1982), 169-176.
- SERRE JOHANNES Lotharingus (Badonviller? - ib. ca. 1612): Cullièrre A., "La *Grammatica Gallica* de Jean Serre (1598)", *BHR* 49 (1987), 341-357. Grammatica ad usum Germanorum.
- SIGONIUS CAROLUS: Girardi R., "'Elegans imitatio et erudita': Sigono e la teoria del dialogo", *GSLI*, 173 (1986), 321-354. Tractat *De dialogo librum* (Venetiis 1562).
- SOCINUS LAELIUS: Lelio Sozzini, *Opere. Edizione critica a cura di A. Rotondò*, Studi e testi per la storia religiosa del Cinquecento, 1 (Firenze, Olschki, 1986).
- SPINOZA: Akkerman F., "La latinité de Spinoza et l'authenticité du texte du *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione*", in *Les Premiers Écrits de Spinoza* [= *Revue d. Sciences philos. et théol.* 71 (1987), f. 1], 23-29.
- STAROVOLSCIUS SIMON: Drewnowski J., "Die Bewertung der Gelehrsamkeit in *Simonis Starovolscii Scriptorum Polonicorum Hekatontas*, 1625 und 1627", *RePuLi*, pp. 193-202.
- STENGELIUS GEORGIUS S.J.: Rädle F., "Die Briefe des Jesuiten Georg Stengel (1584-1651) an seinen Bruder Karl (1581-1663)", *RePuLi*, pp. 525-534.
- STUCKIUS IOANNES GUILIELMUS, Tigurinus: vide 1.5: Herding.
- STUNICA JACOBUS: De Jonge H.J., "Four Unpublished Letters on Erasmus from J.L. Stunica to Pope Leo X (1520)", in *Colloque érasmien de Liège* (Paris, Belles Lettres, 1987), pp. 149-160. Quarta epistola censuram Moriae asperam continet.
- SWEDENBORG EMMANUEL: *A Lexicon to the Latin Text of the Theological Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772)*, ed. by J. Chadwick (London, Swedenborg Society, 1986), part VII: R-STYX.

THESAURUS EMMANUEL: vide infra 5.

THUANUS JACOBUS: Garber Kl., "Paris, die Hauptstadt des europäischen Späthumanismus, Jacques de Thou und das Cabinet Dupuy", *RePuLi*, pp. 71-92.

TOMITANUS BERNARDINUS (fl. Patavii 1540-60): vide 4.1: Olivieri.

TRAVERSANUS LAURENTIUS GULIELMUS (Savona 1425-1503): *The Epitoma Margarithae castigate Eloquentie of Laurentius Gulielmus Traversagni de Saona. Edited and Translated by R.H. Martin* (Leeds, Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1986).

TRAVERSARI AMBROSIIUS: *Hoedoeporicon, a cura di V. Tamburini* (Firenze, Le Monnier, 1985). Interpretatio Italiana.

TRITHEMIUS JOHANNES: Glidden H.H., "Polygraphia and the Renaissance Sign: The Case of Trithemius", *Neophilologus* 71 (1987), 183-195.

URCEUS CODRUS: Chines Loredana, "Antonio Urceo Codro: un umanista tra favola della scienza e scienza della favola", *Schede Umanistiche*, 1 (Bologna, 1987), 20-24. Tractat 'sermones'.

VADIANUS JOACHIM: Rüschi E.G.R., "Eine Betrachtung Joachim Vadian's über christliche Dichtung", *Theologische Zeitschrift*, 42 (1986), 14-25.

VALLA LAURENTIUS: Lorenzo Valla, *Über den freien Willen: De Libero Arbitrio*, ed. E. Kessler, Humanistische Bibliothek, II, 16 (München, Fink, 1987); — Marx Barbara, "Zu einem Briefwechsel zwischen Lorenzo Valla und Niccolò Perotti", in *Commemoratio*, pp. 81-103; — Pade M., "Valla's Thucydides. Theory and Practice in a Renaissance Translation", *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 36 (1985), 275-301; — De Panizza Lorch Maristella, *A Defense of Life. Lorenzo Valla's Theory of Pleasure*. Humanistische Bibliothek. Reihe I: Abhandlungen, Bd. 36 (München, Fink, 1985); — vide et supra: Poggius Bracciolinus: Prete.

VERGILIUS POLYDORUS: Kaufman P.I., "Polydore Vergil and The Strange Disappearance of Christopher Urswick", *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 17 (1986), 69-85.

VICTORIUS PETRUS: Pratesi M., "Gli 'Argumenta in Euripidis et Sophoclis tragoedias' di Pier Vettori", *RIN*, 2a s., 25 (1985), 139-196. Eduntur argumenta annis, ut videtur, 1540-1550 scripta.

VIVES JOANNES LUDOVICUS: Del Nero V., "Memoria, Ingegno e Volontà nel 'De Anima et Vita' di Juan Luis Vives", in D. Bigalli (ed.), "Regione e Civiltas". *Figure del vivere associato nella cultura del '500 europeo* (Milano, Fr. Angeli, 1986), pp. 235-252; — Dewitte A., "J.L. Vives over zijn schoönmoeder. 1524", *Biekorf*, 87 (1987), 105-106. Nederlandice vertitur *De Femina Christiana*, II 3; — Hidalgo Serna E., "Il linguaggio nel pensiero umanista di Juan Luis Vives", in *Tarugi* 1986, pp. 117-131; — IJsewijn J., "Vives' Jugendwerke neu datiert", *WRM* 11 (1987), 58-59; — Kohut K., "Rhetorik, Poetik und Geschichtsschreibung bei Juan Luis Vives, Sebastián Fox Morcillo und Antonio Lull", in A. de Toro (ed.), *Texte-Kontexte-Strukturen... Festschrift K.A. Blüher* (Tübingen, G. Narr Verlag, 1987), pp. 351-370; — *Coll. Europ. I*: continet haec: (1) Fontà A., "La politica europea en la perspectiva de Vives", pp. 27-72; (2) Sancipriano M., "Problèmes de philosophie et de vie à travers les lettres de Jean Louis Vivès

(Bruges, 1520-1534)", pp. 73-86; (3) Matheeussen C., "Quelques remarques sur le *De Subventionem Pauperum*", pp. 87-97; (4) Noreña C.G., "Agricola, Vives and the Low Countries", pp. 100-118; (5) Batllori M., "Las obras de Luis Vives en los Colegios jesuíticos del siglo XVI", pp. 121-145; (6) Losada A., "La Huella de Vives en America", pp. 147-177; (7) Abellán J.L., "El erasmismo de Luis Vives", pp. 181-196; (8) García Angelina, "Una familia de Judíoconversos: Los Vives", pp. 294-308;

— González González E., "Humanistas contra escolásticos. Repaso de un capítulo de la correspondencia de Vives y Erasmo", *Diánoia* (Mexico 1983), 135-161. Epistola Vivis Allen 1108 scripta est 16 VI 1519, cui Erasmus subito respondit missa epistola 1104, postea responsum rhetorice retractavit ut anno 1521 ederet (= ep. 1111); — Selected Writings of J.L. Vives. Vol. I, *Early Writings: De initiis sectis et laudibus philosophiae; Veritas Fucata; Anima Senis; Pompeius Fugiens*. Introduction, Critical Edition, Translation and Notes. Edited by C. Matheeussen, C. Fantazzi, E. George (Leiden, Brill, 1987). Prima editio critica horum opusculorum; — vide et supra 2.2 Philephus.

VOSSIUS Gerardus Johannes: vide 4.1: Van der Poel.

5. INSCRIPTIONES

AMERICA: vide supra 4.1: Kaiser.

MANTUA

Signorini R., "Mantegna's Unknown Sons: a Rediscovered Epitaph", *Journal Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 49 (1986), 233-235. Epitaphium olim in templo S. Dominici apud Mantuam confirmat quae scripsit Matthaeus Bossus Veronensis (1427-1502) Aluisio Antillae (*Opera varia*, Bononiae 1627, p. 270) anno c. 1484, non 1489, ut voluit G. Soranzo (*L'Umanista ... Matteo Bosso di Verona ...*, Patavii 1965, pp. 127, 244).

ROMA

"Inscriptio in memoriam frontis Basilicae Vaticanae ad pristinum decorem restitutae", *Osservatore Romano*, 23-24 II 1987, p. 4.

THESAURUS EMMANUEL (Torino 1591-1675): Fullenwider H.F., "Tesauro in Germany", *Arcadia* 21 (1986), 23-40. De argutiarum et eloquentiae lapidariae magistro eiusque discipulis et criticis Germanis.

6. LATINITAS NOVISSIMA

COMMENTARII: *Latinitas (Vaticano)*, *Vox Latina* (Univ. Saarbrücken, FR 6. 3), *Vita Latina* (Avignon, Aubanel), *Hermes Americanus* (Academia Latina Danburiensis, Box 322, Bethel, Connect.), *Tiro* (Bad Dürkheim, Beacon), *Rumor Varius* (AKAD, Pf. 883, CH-Zürich), *Melissa* (Tervurenlaan, 76, B-1040 Brussel).

Carmina recentissima singulis fere in fasciculis commentariorum "Giornale filologico ferrarese" eduntur; item paginula neolatina in commentariis

- menstruis "Pompeiana Newsletter" (6026 Indianola Avenue, U.S.A.-Indianapolis).
- Academia Latinitati fovendae: *Commentarii*, X: *De Mediolano civitate imperi Romani capite* (Roma, Istituto di studi Romani, 1986). Commentationes quattuor (S. Borzsák, O. Dilke, C. Gantar, Jo. Irmscher); relationes de aliis argumentis III (M. Plezia, J. IJsewijn, J.M. Mir); commemorationes sodalium defunctorum Michaelis Rambaud (P. Grimal) et Andreae Thierfelder (C. Eichenseer).
- AMATA B., "Venticinque anni dalla Costituzione Apostolica "Veterum Sapientia": Il Latino nella Chiesa", *Osservatore Romano*, 22 II 1987, p. 4.
- BENARIO HERIBERTUS W., "Ovationes anni salutis MCMLXXXVI" (Tampae in civitate Floridiensi), *The Classical Journal*, 82 (1986), 81. Laudatiunculae III honoris causa dictae.
- CAMENAE MERTONENSES (Merton College, Oxford 1985): continet carmina prae-miis decorata Armandi d'Angour, Jonathanis Franklin, Christophori Tanfield.
- CONGREGATIO PRO DOCTRINA FIDEI: *Documenta inde a Concilio Vaticano Secundo expleto edita (1966-1985)* (Vatican, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1985).
- GRIFFITH JOANNES: *Oratiunculae Oxonienses Selectae* (Oxford, Oxbow, 1985). Orationes academicae habitae 1973-1980. Cf. etiam *The Classical Review*, N.S., 37 (1987), 92-95.
- PASQUALETTI OLYNDUS, *Gemina Musa: poesie e prose latine e greche; Carmina Latina; Graeca lyra minor; myricae philologicae; sermones* (Piediripa di Macerata, Tipografia Biemmegraf, 1987), 585 pp.
- PAVANETTO CLETUS: *Litterarum Graecarum classicarum lineamenta potiora*, Pars altera (Romae, LAS, 1986).
- PEKKANEN THOMAS: "Carmen nocturnum", *Kanava*, 1983, 293. Carminis Fennici ab Einone Leino conditi interpretatio; — *Kalevala Latina. Carmen epicum nationis Finorum in perpetuam memoriam anniversarii centesimi quinquagesimi transtulit Tuomo Pekkanen ...* (Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, PL 259, SF — 00170 Helsinki 17).
- SAKSA RENATUS (= BRUNE RAINARDUS): *De vaspiceto nive velato: Narratiuncula* (Leichlingae, R. Brune, 1986).
- VISCIDO LAURENTIUS (° Scillace 1.I.1952), *Poematia* (Soveria Mannelli/Cosenza, Calabria Letteraria Editrice, 1987).

7. ADDENDA NOVISSIMA.

– Ad 1.2 (Francia) et 1.4

Thomson D.F.S., "On the Style of Some French Humanists", in C.M. Grisé and C.D.E. Tolton (edd.), *Crossroads and Perspectives: French Literature of the Renaissance. Studies in Honour of Victor E. Graham*, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance 211 (Genève, Droz, 1986), pp. 77-100. Agitur de latinitate Roberti Gaguini, Gulielmi Budaei, Dionysii Lambini, Marci A. Mureti.

– Ad 2.1

Forster L., "Petrarcismus und Neulatein", *Ruperto-Carola* 39 (Univ. Heidelberg 1987), Heft 76, 19-25.

- Ad 2.2

ANDRELINUS PUBLIUS FAUSTUS (Forlì, 1462 - Paris 1518): Stans J., *Publi Fausti Andrelini Elegiae I. Kritische en gecommmentarieerde editie* (Licentiescriptie Leuven, 1987).

CHYTRAEUS NATHAN (Menzingen 1543 - Bremen 1598): Bastiaensen M., "Les Pays-Bas méridionaux dans la relation versifiée de Nathan Chytraeus (1565)", *Latomus* 46 (1987), 432-442. Pars "Itineris Parisiensis" editur et explicatur. Claudicat tamen commentatio, quod auctor librum Hermanni Wiegand de Hodeoporicis (1984) non novit.

COCHANOVIVS IOANNES: Jan Kochanowski / Ioannes Cochranovivus (1530-1584). *Materialien des Freiburger Symposiums 1984*. Herausgegeben von R. Fieguth (Universitätsverlag Freiburg/Schweiz 1987). Commentationes XII, quarum nonnullae etiam poemata latina tractant, i.a. R. Fieguth, "Vates Janus Cochranovivus. Bemerkungen zum 'literarischen Autobiographismus' in Kochanowskis polnischen und lateinischen Gedichten" (pp. 11-44); J. Staronawski, "Jan Kochanowskis lateinische Wanda-Dichtung (Elegie I 15)" (pp. 165-172), cui praemittitur Elegia I 15 latine et germanice (pp. 158-164); W. Kroll, "Randbemerkungen zur Emblematis-Rezeption bei Jan Kochanowski" (pp. 205-218).

HUGENIVS CONSTANTINVS: Akkerman F., "Constantijn Huygens als Neolatijns dichter", in N.F. Streekstra - P.E.L. Verkuyl (redd.), *Huygens in Noorder licht: Lezingen van het Groningse Huygens-symposium* (Groningen 1987), pp. 99-112.

SARBIEVIIVS MATTHIAS CASIMIRVS: Ks. Józef Warszawski TJ, "Dramat rzymski" *Macieja Kazimierza Sarbiewskiego TJ (1622-1625)*. *Studium literacko-biograficzne* (Romae, Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae, 1984).

- Ad 3.2

MACROPEDIIVS GEORGIIVS: Leys Fr., "Macropedius...leves et facetas fecit olim fabulas. Een opmerkelijke evolutie in de toneelstukken van Georgius Macropedius", *Handelingen v. de Kon. Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis* 40 (1986), 87-96.

- Ad 4.2

ERASMVS: Schoeck R.J., "Erasmus in England, 1499-1517: *Translatio Studii* and the *Studia Humanitatis*", *Classical and Modern Literature* 7 (= special issue: ERASMUS, ed. by Jane E. Phillips) (Terre Haute, Indiana 47808, P.O.B. 629, 1987), 269-283.

LESSIVS LEONARDVS, S.J.: Beutels R., *Leonardus Lessius 1554-1623. Portret van een Zuidnederlandse laat-scholastieke ekonoom. Een bio-bibliografisch essay* (Wommelgem/Belgium, Den Gulden Engel, 1987).

SUAREZ FRANCISCVS S.J. (1548-1617): Doyle J.P., "Suarez on Beings of Reason and Truth (1)", *Vivarium* 25 (1987), 47-75.

THOMAS HUBERTVS (Liège 1495 - Heidelberg 29.V.1556): Fabry Caroline, *Huberti Thomae Leodii Annalium de vita Friderici II Liber primus: De Palatinorum origine. Kritische editie met vertaling en kommentaar* (Licentiescriptie Leuven, 1987).

INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

NOVA LEXICA

- Elefante E., *Vocabolario di latino medievale in Sicilia nei secoli XV-XVI: A-H* (Palermo, 1984).
- Latham R.E. - Howlett D.R., *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, Fascicule III: D-E (Oxford U.P., 1986).
- Lexicon Mediae Latinitatis Danicae* (Aarhus: fasc. I, lit. A anno 1987 proditurus est).
- Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi*, fasc. 26: F-Fidelitas (Leiden, 1986).
- Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, vol. X, fasc. III: *paratura - pars* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1986).
- Ferrua A., *Note al Thesaurus Linguae Latinae. Addenda et Corrigenda* (Edipuglia, Via L. Sturzo 40, I-70125 BARI, 1986). Spectat A-D litteras. Addenda pleraque sunt virorum mulierumque nomina. Accedunt aliquot vocabula rariora ex lapidibus aut scriptis palaeochristianis sive primum desumpta sive correcta.
- vide supra 4.2 Swedenborg.

INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba, quae neque in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis* Forcelliniano reperiuntur. Ea autem, quae in lexicis et glossariis Mediae et recentioris Latinitatis leguntur, stellula (*) notavimus.

- | | |
|---|--|
| * Accidentarius: p. 135 | * Elucidatorium: p. 133 |
| Aegoceronteus: p. 270 | * Elucidarius: p. 122, 123 |
| Albionicus: p. 153 | Fundelus = <i>tergum libri compacti</i> : p. 193 |
| * Angligena: p. 171 | sqq. |
| * Artista: p. 186, 317 | * Gravitatis vis: p. 311 |
| * Azurus: p. 194 | * Hydrostatica: p. 311 |
| * Baro: p. 140 | * Hymnarius = <i>hymnarium</i> : p. 115 |
| Barometrum: p. 311 | * Impressio: p. 87 |
| * Centrifuga vis: p. 311 | Insulser: p. 79 |
| * Chaunotes (= Χαννότης), <i>elatio animi</i> : p. 35 | Macrobioticus: p. 312 |
| Cloceus = croceus: p. 193 | * Parliamentum: p. 182 |
| * Compressibilitas: p. 311 | * Pedellus: p. 242 |
| Croesianus (= qui vivit ut Croesus): p. 234 | Peregrie: p. 274 |
| Depositator (= depositarius?): p. 209 | * Perillustrare: p. 280 |
| * Divisibilitas: p. 310 | Perindustrius: p. 73 |
| Electricitas: p. 311 | * Perspectiva, -ae: p. 310 |
| | * Porositas: p. 311 |

- * Potestas = *Podestà*: p. 192
- Praenotamentum: p. 249
- * Reparatrix: p. 121
- Salipusium = *salaputium*: p. 294, 295
- * Stampa ('ad stampam' = *impressus*):
p. 187, 193, 194
- Subconector: p. 312
- * Supermundanus: p. 119
- * Supernaturalis: p. 282
- * Tragoedicus: p. 51
- * Typographicus: p. 73
- Undulatorius motus: p. 310
- * Universitas: p. 104
- * Zal(l)us = *gilvus*: p. 200, 201, 202, 204,
207.

INDICES

1. INDEX CODICUM MANU SCRIPTORUM

- Bernkastel-Kues, *Bibliothek des Hospitals*, 157: p. 81
- Bologna, *Archivio di Stato, Partit. 8*: p. 104
- Brussel, *Koninklijke Bibliotheek, V.H.B. 320 A L.P.*: p. 311
- Firenze, *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. IV 3*: p. 193
- Firenze, *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. II ii 10*: p. 278
- Firenze, *id.*, *Magl. VII 383*: p. 292
- Firenze, *Biblioteca Riccardiana, gr. 29*: p. 192
- Göttingen, *Universitätsbibliothek, cod. theol. 136*: p. 77, 81.
- Holkham Hall, 276: p. 185, 207
- København, *Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 418*: p. 184-185
- Leiden, *Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPG 74F*: p. 190, 195
- London, *British Library, Addit. Ms. 8799*: p. 80; 19906: p. 2-5, 36; 33736: p. 174-183; 46354: p. 151
- London, *id.*, *Harley 336*: p. 169-173; 838: p. 151
- London, *id.*, *King's 395*: p. 151
- London, *id.*, *Cotton Domitian XVIII*: p. 167-168
- London, *id.*, *Royal 18.A.1xxv*: p. 151
- London, *College of Arms, Box 2, n° 13A*: p. 151
- Milano, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 41 inf.*: p. 106; *E 37 inf.*: p. 291; *H 79 inf.*: p. 276; *J 48 inf.*: p. 296-97; *R 13 sup.*: p. 101-104
- München, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 414*: p. 104-108; 755: p. 86
- Oxford, *Bodleian Library, Can. Class. lat. 54*: p. 91-98; 61: p. 85
- Oxford, *id.*, *Canon. Misc. 557*: p. 81, 84
- Oxford, *id.*, *D'Orville 513*: p. 80
- Padova, *Archivio di Stato, Archivio No-*
tarile; Abbrev. di Ambr. da Ruina VIII: p. 187, 190
- Padova, *Museo Civico, CM 396*: p. 194
- Paris, *Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1651*: p. 51
- Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8209*: p. 86
- Paris, *id.*, *Suppl. gr. 443*: p. 207
- Roma, *Biblioteca Angelica, 1721*: p. 90
- Stuttgart, *Württembergische Landesbibliothek, cod. poet. 4° 38*: p. 140
- Vaticano, *graecus 1412*: p. 193.
- Vaticano, *latinus 1862*: p. 95; 2739: p. 99, 108-111; 2930: p. 86, 96; 3255: p. 88-98, 102, 109; 3263: p. 99; 3279: p. 98; 3285: p. 98; 3378: p. 99; 3394: p. 87; 3415: p. 99; 5337: p. 89; 6250: p. 297; 7179: p. 86, 96.
- Vaticano, *Ottobon.lat. 2134*: p. 73-74, 76, 77, 81.
- Vaticano, *Palat. gr. 142*: p. 207, 208.
- Vaticano, *Regin. lat. 1818*: p. 89
- Vaticano, *Urb. lat. 224*: p. 80, 81, 84; 250: p. 91.
- Venezia, *Biblioteca Marciana gr. I 2(433)*: p. 197; *IV 51(1118)*: p. 194; *X 4(1250)*: p. 189; *X 8(1229)*: p. 197; *X 9(1271)*: p. 189, 194; *X 10(1230)*: p. 195; *X 14(1231)*: p. 189; *XI 16(1234)*: p. 189
- Venezia, *id.*, *ital. XI 323(7107)*: p. 184, 194, 195, 197
- Venezia, *id.*, *lat. VIII 41(3069)*: p. 310; *XI 5(3810)*: p. 201; *XI 23(4686)*: p. 206; *XII 23(3946)*: p. 199; *XII 179(4026)*: p. 186
- Verona, *Biblioteca Capitolare, CLXIV(151)*: p. 101; *CCLVII*: p. 199, 201
- Wolfenbüttel, *Herzog August Bibliothek, Gud. gr. 25*: p. 193; 25-27: p. 184; 26: p. 193; 27: p. 197; 71: p. 189

2. INDEX NOMINUM SELECTORUM

- Acta Apostolorum*: 230
 Adami, Leonardo: 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 79, 84
 Adelphus, Johannes: 125, 127
 Aelius Spartianus: 199
 Aemilius Asper: 109
 Aesopus: 189, 207
 Agricola, Rudolphus: 138, 139, 335
 Alamannus, H.: 201
 Albertini, Niccolò (Cardinalis Pratensis): 46
 Albertus, Leo Baptista: 200, 310
 Alexander VI, P.M.: 155
 Alexander Aphrodisiensis: 186, 204
 Alexander de Villa Dei: 125
 Alighieri, Pietro: 50
 Alphonsus, dux Calabriae: 325
 Alphonsus de Guadelupa: 305
 Alora, Jacobus: 130, 131
 Amaseus, Romulus: 290
 Ambrosius, (sanctus): 112, 115, 116, 117, 119, 123, 134, 142, 219
 Amelius, J.: 128
Anacreontea Carmina: 309
 Anchieta, Josephus de: 308
 Andreas, Bernardus: 151, 153-57, 159-63, 166-68, 167
 Angour, Armand d': 336
Annales Cambriae: 148
 Antilla, Aluisius: 335
 Apelles, Matthaëus: 330
 Apollonius (Dyscolus): 192
 Apuleius: 16, 198
 Aristophanes: 197
 Arias Montanus, Benedictus: 305, 308
 Aristoteles: 19-22, 26, 28, 31-35, 49, 145, 186, 188, 189, 192, 193, 194, 201-05, 235, 236, 249, 290, 322, 332
 Arnault, Antonius: 319
 Arondaeus, Justinus, 311
 Arthurus rex: 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 155, 156, 157, 158, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166
 Arthur Tudor: 147-183, 313
 Asconius Pedianus: 92, 110
 Asinius, M.A.: 253
 Athanasius: 201
 Auberinus, Caius: 154
 Audoenus, Ludovicus: 318
 Augustinus: 28, 55, 198, 201, 202, 206, 214, 237, 302
 Augustinus, Antonius: 308
Aurea Expositio, Hymnorum: 115-19, 120, 121, 126, 128, 130, 131, 133, 135, 136
 Aurelius, Marcus: 186, 204
 Aurispa, Iohannes: 205
 Ausonius: 143, 205
 Averroës 201
 Bacon, Roger: 327
 Badius, Jodocus: 86, 128, 129, 130, 249, 309
 Balbus, Iohannes: 324
 Baptista Mantuanus: 125, 126, 132, 214
 Barbarus, Daniel: 310
 Barbarus Hermolaus: 200, 305
 Bargaeus, Petrus Angelius: 253, 254, 278, 286, 287, 290, 295
 Barthius, Gasparus: 309
 Barzizza, Gasparinus: 142
 Baudoin, J.: 129
 Beaufort, John: 147
 Beaufort, Margaret, 179
 Bebelius, Henricus: 124, 125, 126, 130, 132
 Beda: 36
 Bellino Bissolo: 2-5, 13, 14, 21, 43
 Benedictus, Alexander: 322
 Bentley Richard: 77, 78, 79, 84
 Bernardus (sanctus): 136
 Beroaldus, Philippus: 105, 200, 208
 Bidellus, Iulius, *Senensis*: 295
 Betuleius, Sixtus: 217, 236, 237, 239, 240, 242, 245, 247, 249, 250, 251
 Birck: *vide* Betuleius
 Blondus, Flavius: 98, 200, 203
 Bocca, Iosephus: 290, 295
 Boccabella, Paulus Aemilius: 90
 Boccaccio Giovanni: 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 58, 60, 65, 67, 106, 201
 Boethius: 45, 47, 48, 52, 53, 54, 56, 59, 60, 202
 Bonstetten, Albrecht von: 138-146, 327

- Borovius, Jacobus M.: 307
 Bossus, Matthaeus *Veronensis*: 335
 Bovillus, Carolus: 129
 Brahe, Tycho: 323
 Brant, Sebastianus: 127, 128
 Brenta, Andreas: 209
 Brenta, Baptista: 188, 209
 Briçonnet, Guillaume: 332
 Brochard, Michel: 72, 76, 78, 81, 83, 84
 Bronseval Claudius de: 308
 Brunus, Leonardus *Aretinus*: 202, 205, 309
 Brutus (*heros Britanniae eponymus*) 148, 150
 Brutus Romanus: 195
 Budaeus, Guilielmus: 214
 Burgius, Aloisius: 253
 Burgundio Pisanus: 326
 Burrus, Petrus: 128, 129
 Bury, Richard de -: 49

 Cabrera, Christophorus: 305
 Caecilius Epirota: 91, 98
 Caesar, Julius: 198
 Calderinius Domitius: 99, 100, 186, 199, 200, 201, 205, 207
 Calecas Manuel: 195, 197
 Calepinus, Ambrosius: 131
 Calphurnius, Johannes: 184-211
 Campanus, Johannes: 201
 Candidus, Eusebius: 240
 Candidus, Publius: 19, 206
 Cannius Nicolaus: 232
 Capella, Martianus: 175, 203
 Capgrave, John: 163
 Capponius, Capponus: 278, 295
 Carafa, Fabricius: 318
 Caravaggi, Benedetto de': 186
 Carmelianus, Petrus: 153-55, 159-63, 166, 174-83
Carmen de Y littera: 28
 Carolus Magnus: 149
 Casa, Iohannes: 324
 Cataldus Siculus: 308
 Cato (*Disticha catonis*): 191, 194, 199, 229
 Catullus: 4, 17, 22, 27, 40, 97, 185, 305, 316
 Caxton William, 153, 154, 163
 Cebes: 195
 Cecchonus, Alphonsus: 318
 Celsus, Cornelius: 203, 314
 Celtis, Conradus: 124
 Chaucer, Geoffrey: 44-70, 320
 Choerilus: 15, 16
 Chrétien de Troyes: 67
 Chrysoloras, Emmanuel: 143, 191
 Chrysostomus, Johannes: 195
 Cicero: 12, 27, 28, 45, 48, 55, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 186, 188, 198, 199, 201, 202, 204, 206, 207, 220, 221, 223, 224, 225, 226, 229, 231, 234, 236, 237, 253 (*Pro Milone*), 331
 Cinthius Cenetanus (Cinzio da Ceneda): 100-104, 110, 111
 Cisalpinus, Andreas: 253
 Claudianus: 11, 15, 23, 39, 40, 202, 318
 Clemens VII P.M.: 132
 Clichtoveus, Jodocus: 133-37
 Coke, Thomas: 185, 189
 Colet, John: 214
 Constantinus (*grammaticus*): 195
 Cornelius: *vide* Tacitus
Cornucopiae, 202
 Camers seu Creticus Laurentius (Lorenzo da Camerino), 207, 208
 Crinitus, Petrus: 86
 Cristan, Michael: 144
 Crocus, Cornelius: 214, 217, 220, 221, 224, 225, 231-38, 251
 Croissant, Albert: 308
 Cuenca Joannes de: 308
 Cusanus Nicolaus: 323
 Cyprianus, 205
 Cyprianus (pseudo), 299

 Damascenus Johannes: 326, 327
 Dante: 46, 51, 52, 53, 105, 324
 Datus Augustinus: 203
 Demosthenes: 188, 193, 197, 207, 208
 Descartes, René: 332
 Deschamps, Eustache: 52
 Despauterius, Iohannes: 133
 Diodorus Siculus: 203
 Diogenes Laërtius: 202
 Diomedes: 47
 Dionigi de Roberti: 46

- Dionysius Carthusianus, 118, 119, 120, 133, 135
 Dionysius Halicarnassensis: 193, 196, 198, 200
 Dionysius Thrax: 194, 205
 Dioscorides: 199
 Dohna, Carolus, Hannibal a: 330
 Domitius Marsus: 98
 Donatus: 11, 85, 92-98, 103, 104, 110, 185, 206, 218, 220, 240, 243
 Dondi de Orologio, Gasparo: 186
 Dozio, G.B.: 102, 103
 Dufay, Guillaume: 114
 Dymmock, sir Robert: 150

 Eberhardus Alemannus: 20
 Egnatius: 86, 87
 Elisabeth (*regina Angliae*): 164
 Elisabeth *Eboracensis, uxor Henrici VII*: 150, 160, 181, 182
 Ennius: 14, 15, 16, 109, 332
 Epicurus: 297
 Erasmus: 71, 124, 144, 145, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 221, 223, 224, 229, 230, 232-36, 238, 248, 299-302, 303, 305, 306, 309, 311, 314, 334, 335
 Euclides: 201
 Euripides: 49, 237, 326, 334
 Eusebius: 202, 203
 Eustachius a Sancto Ubaldo: 330
 Evanthius: 240

 Faber, Nicolaus: 322
 Faber Stapulensis, Jacobus: 135, 327
 Fabian, Robert: 163
 Fabronius A.: 252, 253
 Facino, Galeazzo: 186
 Falkener, Michael *Vratislaviensis*: 132
 Fenestella, Lucius: 203
 Ferrerius, Zacharias: 132
 Ferretus Vincentinus: 12, 13
 Festus: 204
 Ficinus, Marsilius: 199, 200, 314, 328
 Fiera, Baptista: 312
 Fileticus, Martinus: 99
 Firmicus Maternus: 203
 Florus, Lucius: 205
 Fortunatianus: 203
 Fox Morcillus, Sebastianus: 335
 Foxe, Richard: 154
 Franklin, Benjamin: 322
 Franklin, Jonathan: 336
 Fredericus (*dux urbinas*): 325
 Frontinus Julius: 199

 Gaetanus, Daniel: 90, 92
 Gaetanus de Thiene: 188, 202, 203
 Gaguinus, Robertus: 128
 Galateus de Ferrariis, Antonius: 305
 Galenus: 314
 Galfridus Monmuthensis: 148-51, 158, 159, 162, 309
 Galfridus de Vinosalvo: 11, 18, 19, 24, 25
 Gallettius, Cosmus: 253
 Gavardus, Laelius: 253, 276
 Gaza, Theodorus: 91, 186, 187, 192, 195, 201, 204
 Gellius, Aulus: 21, 109, 203, 232, 300
Genesis: 231
Geographi Graeci Minores: 207
 Georgius, Dominicus: 72, 74-78, 83, 84
 Georgius Tiphernas: 198
 Georgius Trapezuntius: 200, 202
 Gezelle, Guido: 313
 Giannino da Mantova: 55, 56
 Gigli: *vide* Lilius
 Giustiniani, Tomasino: 1
 Gnapheus, Gulielmus: 212, 213, 216, 218, 224, 240, 241, 245, 248, 249, 251
 Gonzaga, Francesco da -: 104, 105
 Grossatesta, Robertus: 19, 22, 26, 28, 35, 326
 Grüninger, Johannes: 86
 Gryphius, Andreas: 309
 Guarini, Baptista: 138-146
 Guarinus Veronensis: 138, 140, 142, 143, 144, 146, 198, 331
 Gude, Marquardus: 184, 185, 189, 193
 Guilielmus Malmesburiensis: 149

 Hale, Nathan: 322
 Hardyng, John: 152
 Hegius, Alexander: 123, 124
 Helvius Cinna: 20, 21

- Henricus de Huntingdon, 149
Herennium, ad: 24, 25, 28, 202, 206
 Hermannus Tornacensis: 149
Hermes Trismegistus: 230
 Hermogenes: 197
 Herodianus: 205
 Herodotus: 186, 192, 194, 309
 Hesiodus: 195, 207, 208
 Heumann, Chr.: 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84
 Hieremias: 61
 Hierocles: 205
 Hieronymus: 92, 94, 198, 203, 215, 226
 Hilarius: 115, 116, 117, 136, 301
 Hillen, Michael: 217
Historia Hadriani: 195
 Homerus: 188, 196, 197, 199, 209, 236, 253
Horae Virginis Mariae: 197
 Horatius: 10, 11, 13, 15-31, 33, 38, 41, 48, 49, 52, 99, 108, 123, 124, 205, 206, 216, 253, 301, 322
 Horius Nicolaus: 129
 Hrabanus Maurus: 219
 Hugo a Sancto Victore: 135
 Hyginus: 203
Hymnarius: 115

 Ischyrius, Christianus: 320
 Isidorus: 20, 219
 Isocrates (pseudo): 143, 144, 186, 194, 254

 Jacobus (*rex Scotiae*): 306
 Johannes de Anglia: 104
 Johannes de Virgilio: 46
 Johannes de Werdea: 38
 Johannes Duns Scotus: 215
 Josephus, Flavius: 201
 Junta, Philippus: 254
 Justinus: 36, 202, 230, 231, 238
 Juvenalis: 10, 11, 13, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 99, 186, 204, 222, 236, 301, 302
 Juvenalis, Guido: 249
 Juvenius: 234

 Korsch, Ph. E.: 307

 Lactantius: 200, 230, 231, 236, 302
 Laelius Antonius Augustus: 89

 Lamy, Bernard: 322
 Lambinus, Dionysius: 35
 Landinus, Christophorus: 292
 Landivar, Raphael: 308
 Langius, Rodolphus: 123
 Lapis Florentinus: 144, 198
 Lascaris, Janus: 193, 195
 Laurentius de Rubeis: 105
 Le Clerc, Jean: 77, 78
 Legname, Battista del: 184
 Lelandus, Johannes: 163
 Lenfant, Jacques: 72, 73
 Lessing, G.E.: 306
 Libanius: 194, 195
 Librius, Iulius: 253
 Lilius, Iohannes (Gigli, Giovanni): 153, 154, 155, 157-63, 166, 169-73
 Lippius, Laurentius: 205
 Livius Titus: 15, 40, 186, 205, 206
 Lomonosov, Michael: 307
 Lopez de Mendoza, Iñigo: 55
 Lovell, Francis: 171
 Lubbertus, Sibrandus: 306
 Lucanus: 19, 39, 47, 98, 99, 108, 204
 Lucas Evangelista: 228
 Lucianus: 192, 236, 300, 329
 Lucretius: 25, 27, 29, 202, 327, 332
 Lull, Antonio: 335
 Lupatus de Lupatis (Lovato Lovati): 1-43, 45, 48
 Lupus Ferrariensis: 48
 Luscus (Loschi) Antonius: 46, 50, 52, 53, 56, 67
 Luscus, Nicolaus: 186
 Luther M.: 212, 248
 Lycophron: 188, 197, 207, 208
 Lydgate, J.: 45, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 65

 Machiavelli, Giovanni de': 186
 Macrobius: 10, 29, 93, 97, 109, 110, 111, 201
 Macropedius Georgius: 217, 218, 242, 251
 Magliabechi, Antonio: 71
 Magnaeus, Arnas: 79
 Mai Angelo: 88, 101, 102
Mammotrectus: 118, 120, 125
 Mancinellus, Antonius: 93, 99, 125

- Manutius, Aldus: 186, 188, 192, 196, 208, 252, 253, 254, 276, 291
 Manutius, Paulus: 252
 Manzini della Motta, Giovanni: 46, 48, 53, 54
 Maphaeus Hieronymus: 318
 Marbodius Rhedonensis: 38
 Marcanova, Giovanni: 184, 185
 Marchesini, Giovanni: 118
 Marineus, Lucius: 308
 Marsilius Patavinus: 46
 Marsus, Paulus: 99
 Marsus, Petrus: 104-108, 110, 111, 204
 Martialis: 41, 56, 94, 99, 124, 186, 205, 305, 330
 Masius Julius: 253
 Matthaëus Evangelista: 228
 Matthaëus de Gipso: 105
 Matthaëus Vindocinensis: 19, 24, 25, 38
 Mauroy, Nicolas: 136
 Mediceus, Alexander: 253, 257
 Mediceus Franciscus: 253
 Mediceus, Laelius: 253
 Medicis Lorenzo de: 193
 Melanchthon, Philippus: 316
 Menander: 213
 Merula, Paulus: 204, 311
 Methodius: 195
 Meyfart, Joh. Matthias: 314
 Mezzabati, Hugo: 3
 Michael Vratislaviensis: *vide* Falkener
 Modestus: 206
 Monnoye, Bernard de la -: 72, 76, 78, 81, 83, 84
 Montagnana, Pietro da: 184, 185, 191, 197
 Montaigne: 304
 Montanus, Jacobus: 128
 Monte, Guidobaldo del: 310
 Moreto, A: 186
 Moringus, Gerardus: 325
 Mortimer, Roger: 164
 Moschus, Demetrius: 195
 Müling, J.A.: *vide* Adelphus
 Muretus, Marcus Antonius: 318
 Murmellius, Johannes: 123, 124, 128, 132
 Mussatus, Albertinus: 1, 5, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 67
 Naevius: 303
 Naugerius, Andreas: 252, 296-298, 320
 Nebrissensis, Antonius: 131, 308
 Negri, Francesco: 145
 Nennius (*Historia regum Britanniae*): 148, 150, 151
 Nigella, Pomponii Laeti filia: 89
 Nigellus, Martinus: 220
 Niger, Julius: 292
 Nivenius, Martinus: 233
 Nonius Marcellus: 202
 Nuñez Delgado, Petrus: 130, 131
 Olahus, Nicolaus: 326
 Oliva, Giovanni: 72, 74, 76, 77, 84
 Omnibonus Leonicens: 201, 203
 Oporinus: 90, 217
 Oppianus, 205
 Origenes: 214, 215
 Orosius, Paulus: 205
 Ottino di Luna: 199
 Ovidius; 11, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 39, 40, 41, 42, 53, 96, 99, 143, 185, 199, 200, 202, 206, 225, 305, 313, 318
 Oyen, Florentius van: 311
 Palearius Aonius: 252, 255, 316
 Pallavicinus, Thomas: 293
Panegyrici Latini: 203
 Papeus, Petrus: 218
 Paruta, Paulus: 328
 Pascoli, Giovanni: 315
 Pasqualino, A.: 185
Pasquinus, 305
 Pausanias; 186, 188, 192, 199, 201
 Peacham, J.: 311
 Pedanius Dioscorides: 193
 Pélerin, J.: *vide* Viator
 Perottus, Nicolaus: 131, 186, 188, 199, 331, 334
 Persius: 5, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 41
 Petrarca, Fr.: 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 51, 54, 55, 56, 58, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 80, 125, 204, 309, 324
 Petrus *Lucensis*, J.: 185
 Petrus Paduanus: 200

- Phagianni, Nicolao: 194
 Phalaris: 196
 Philelphus Franciscus: 80, 139, 201, 204
 Philippe de Mézieres: 51, 52
 Philostratus: 193, 311
 Phocylides: 195, 196
 Pico della Mirandola, G. F.: 123, 126, 132, 196, 230, 329
 Pietro de Muglio: 46
 Pindarus: 233, 236
 Pinellius, Joh. Bapt.: 253, 254, 293, 295
 Pisander: 111
 Pithoeus, Petrus: 322
 Pius II: 125
 Placentius, Johannes: 239-251
 Planudes, Maximus: 193, 194
 Planza de Ruffinoni, Giovanni: *vide* Calphurnius
 Platina, Bartholomaeus: 104, 106, 206
 Plato: 200, 220, 221, 223, 234, 236, 237, 326
 Plautus: 17, 24, 202, 212, 218, 220, 234, 235, 236, 242, 243, 249, 301
 Plienigen: Dietrich von, 138, 139, 140
 Plinius Sr.: 92, 97, 98, 103, 107, 109, 110, 198, 298, 299
 Plinius Jr.: 138, 139, 200, 204, 205, 206, 236
 Plotinus: 199, 328
 Plutarchus: 185, 186, 195, 198, 204, 207, 225, 229, 236, 301
 Poggius Bracciolinus: 71-84, 203, 234
 Polentonus, Sicco: 105, 204
 Politianus, Angelus, 203, 205, 304, 308, 309, 318, 327
 Polybius: 188, 199
 Pompeius Trogus: 36
 Pompilius, Paulus: 311
 Pomponius Laetus: 85-111, 328
 Pomponius Mela: 204, 299
 Consevius, Dominicus: 252-295
 Pontanus, Jacobus: 305, 322
 Porcia, Giacomo (*conte di*): 100
 Porphyrius: 15, 328
Priapea Carmina: 305
 Priscianus: 92, 93, 125
 Probus, Valerius: 86, 87, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 98, 103, 105, 110
 Probus (pseudo-): *vide* Probus Valerius
 Procopović, Theophanes: 307
 Prodromos, Th.: 194
 Propertius: 14, 31, 41, 185, 200, 305
 Prudentius: 80, 115, 234
Psalterium: 197, 203
 Ptolomaeus: 201
 Publilius Syrus: 228
 Puteus, C.: 290, 291, 295
 Pythagoras: 205
 Quentell, N.: 120, 121, 124, 130
 Quintianus Stoa: 214
 Quintilianus: 92, 97, 98, 99, 103, 109, 185, 198, 204
 Quintus Curtius: 109, 206
 Quoyman, Joannes: 220
 Radivilus, Georgius: 318
 Ramus, Petrus: 304
 Rastell, John: 163
 Rebhuhn, Paul: 245
 Recanati, G.B.: 71, 72, 73, 74, 78
 Regius, Raphael: 185
 de Regulis, Quintus, Alexander: 254
 Remaclus Arduenna: 220
 Rhosos, J.: 193
 Ricci: *vide* Crinitus
 Richard III: 147, 150, 154, 160, 176, 329
 Rittershusius, Nicolaus: 330
 Rood, Theodorick: 154
 Roscius, Julius: 276
 Rossettus, Prosperus: 253
 Rudborne, Thomas: 163
 Sabellicus, M.A. Coccaeus: 100, 305
 Sānger, G.E.: 307
 Sallustius: 99, 204, 236
 Salutatus, Coluccius: 46, 51, 56, 65, 322, 325, 331
 Sanctius Franciscus, *Brocensis*: 308
 Sanleolinus Franciscus: 254
 Santasofia, Girolamo: 184
 Sanudus, Marinus: 186
 Sapidus, Johannes: 216, 325
 Savonarola, G.: 56
 Scaliger, J.J.: 308, 309, 311
 Schedel, Hartmann: 104

- Scot of Scotstarvit, John: 311
 Scotus, Octavianus: 99
 Secundinus (Sagundino) Nicolaus: 144
 Sedulius, Caelius: 115
 Segnius, Bernardus: 253
 Seneca: 16, 23, 28, 32, 39, 41, 44-48, 50-57,
 62, 67, 142, 143, 202, 204, 205, 237, 319
 Seneca Rhetor: 56
Sequentiae et hymni per totum annum: 115
 Sermartellus, Bartholomaeus: 253
 Sertinius, Alexander: 253
 Servius: 28, 47, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 103,
 185, 198, 202
 Sidney, Philip: 306
 Silius Italicus: 40, 106, 109, 199, 204
 Simon Fonticulanus (Callimachus): 101
 Simon Genuensis: 205
 Simplicius: 194
 Sincerus, Hieronymus: 71
 Sint Aldegonde, Marnix van -: 315
 Sixtus IV: 154
 Socrates: 220, 221, 223, 225, 226, 229, 230,
 231, 234, 236, 237
 Solinus: 205
 Sonnenburg, Joh. Chr.: 312
 Sophocles: 49, 196, 334
 Spenser, E.: 67
 Statius: 12, 13, 30, 32, 39, 40, 47, 50, 98,
 185, 200, 203, 204, 207
 Steinhöwel, Heinrich: 309
 Stephanus, Henricus: 309
 Stengel, Karl: 333
 Stephanus Byzantinus: 193
 Steuchus, Augustinus: 302
 Strabo: 109, 187, 198
 Stuckius, Joh. Guil.: 309
 Stunica, Jacobus: 302
 Suetonius: 85, 92, 94, 98, 99, 200, 201, 204
 Suidas: 196
 Sulpitius, Johannes: 99
 Surigonus, Stephanus: 154
 Swanenburch, Joost: 315
 Tacitus Cornelius: 92, 95, 98, 103, 107, 110,
 198
 Tanfield, Christopher: 336
 Tasso, Torquato: 290, 319
 Terentius: 17, 185, 203, 212, 213, 218, 220,
 235, 240, 241, 242, 245, 249, 250, 332
 Tertullianus: 55
 Themistius: 200
 Theocritus: 99, 195, 207
 Theognis: 196
 Theophilus Brixianus: 123
 Theophrastus: 91, 193
 Thomas Aquinas: 206
 Thucydides: 194, 197, 334
 Tibullus: 24, 157, 185, 305
 Tomasini, Iacopo Philippo: 185, 188, 189,
 191, 193
 Torrentinus, Hermannus: 122, 123, 124,
 126, 128, 130
 Tortellius, Johannes: 198
 Traversarius, Ambrosius: 202
 Trevet, Nicholas: 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 55
 Tritonius, P.: 124
 Tscherning, Andreas: 330
 Tzetzes, J.: 197
 Udalricus: 139
 Ugonius, Pompeius: 318
 Urbanus Bellunensis: 187, 196
 Urbanus V: 331
 Ursinus, Fulvius: 318
 Ursius, Aurelius: 318
 Urswick, Christopher: 334
 Valerianus, Pierius: 308
 Valerius Flaccus: 10, 11, 27, 200, 207, 302
 Valerius Maximus: 144, 145, 202, 236
 Valla, Georgius: 186, 200
 Valla, Laurentius: 76, 79, 99, 125, 186, 200,
 201, 203, 311, 322, 331
 Valturius, Robertus: 200
 Varro: 98, 200
 Vegetius: 205
 Vergerius, P.P.: 185, 201
 Vergilius: 10, 14, 26, 39, 40, 41, 53, 85-111,
 122, 142, 158, 159, 160, 162, 166, 185,
 198, 201, 202, 206, 214, 228, 236, 254,
 300, 301, 304, 316, 328
 Vergilius, Polydorus: 163, 164, 177
 Verinus, Ugolinus: 253, 292, 311
 Viator, Johannes: 310

- Victoria, Tomas Luis de: 114
 Victor Lysiensis: 100
 Victorinus, M. Fabius: 206
 Vilaragut: 53
 Virdung, Michael: 309
 Vitellius, Cornelius: 154
 Vitruvius: 207
Vocabula pro Iuvenibus, 200
 Volscus, Antonius: 99
 Vossius, G.J.: 71, 322
 Vulcanius, Bonaventura: 311

 Waldis, Burckard: 212, 213, 240
 Wettstein, J.J.: 77
 Whethamstede, John: 163

 Wimpfeling, Jacobus: 125, 126, 127, 128, 130
 Witz: *vide* Sapidus

 Xenophon: 220

 Zabarellis, Franciscus de: 199
 Zagarus, Guilielmus: 220
 Zane, Laurentius: 194
 Zanolus Cyprius, 207, 208
 Zenobius: 207
 Ziegler, Hieronymus: 212
 Zosimus: 301
 Zovenzonius, Raphael: 186
 Zovitius, Jacobus: 217-37

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA
(JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES)

Ed. Prof. Dr. J. IJSEWIJN

Volume XVII,	1968, 162 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XVIII,	1969, 164 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XIX,	1979, 514 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XX,	1971, 297 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXI,	1972, 412 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXII,	1973, 341 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXIII,	1974, 441 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXIV,	1975, 376 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXV,	1976, 306 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXVI,	1977, 280 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXVII,	1978, 366 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXVIII,	1979, 386 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXIX,	1980, 353 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXX,	1981, 278 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXXI,	1982, 256 p. — 1200 fr.
Volume XXXII,	1983, 471 p. — 2300 fr.
Volume XXXII,	1984, 366 p. — 2300 fr.
Volume XXXIV,	1985, 513 p. — 2300 fr.
Volume XXXV,	1986, 336 p. — 2300 fr.

SUPPLEMENTA HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

1. *Iohannis Harmonii Marsi De rebus italicis deque triumpho Ludovici XII regis Francorum Tragoedia*, ed. G. TOURNOY, 1978.
2. *Charisterium H. De Vocht 1878-1978*, ed. J. IJSEWIJN & J. ROEGIERS, 1979.
3. *Judocus J.C.A. Crabeels. Odae Iscanae. Schuttersfeest te Overijse (1781)*, ed. J. IJSEWIJN, G. BANDE PUTTE & R. DENAYER, 1981.
4. *Erasmiana Lovaniensia. Cataloog van de Tentoonstelling, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leuven, november 1986 (1986)*.